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A METHOD FOR Trauell.

SHEWED BY TAKING THE view of France.

As it stoode in the yeare of our Lord 1598.

Sir Robert Dallington

LONDON,
Printed by Thomas Creede.

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TO ALL GENTLEMEN THAT haue Trauelled.

GEntlemen, The Marte is open for writing: & this towne at this time more ſul of ſuch Nouelties thē euer was Frāckfort, *though more for the Printers gaine, then Authors credit, or benefit of vs the Readers. For our memories are ſo ſurcharged with the multiplicitie of their books, & our vnderſtandings ſo weakned with their vnſeaſoned crudities, (like ſtomacks with rawe fruites,) that we are not able to digeſt them into any good blood either of knowledge or vertue. I would we had fewer diſhes ſo we had better Cates. Among ſuch a world of Pamphlets comes out the* View of France, *(raw as the reſt) & therfore hopes (as I did the laſt Iubily in* Rome, *thruſting my ſelf among ſuch a cōfuſiō of natiōs) or not to be ſeene, or not to be regarded. It comes out by one that profeſſeth, he neither cares nor knowes, whether it be a baſtard, or legitimate: the Harlot in holy writ cared not what became of the child, ſo ſhe might haue her ſhare. My ſelfe who tender more his credit, aſſure you he is true Engliſh bred, though an Alian borne, and deſires, rather then be ill accepted of you, to be ſent back to his natiue cōtrie, though he there indager a whipping for telling of tales. It ſeemeth the publiſher had ſmall imployment, and that he is of a French nature, who muſt needes be in Action, and rather then ſit ſtill be ill occupied. Had he bene of other diſpoſition, or his*

acquain-

acquaintance with the booke, as little as mine with him: he had not exposed that to publicke view, which I had destined to perpetuall priuacie: neither had my weakenesse vndergone your strict censure, nor his boldnesse deserued my iust complaint. And to whome should I rather complaine then to you, that haue iudiciously obserued in France much more then is heere Related, whose priuate and more worthie obseruations may incurre like danger, and be traduced to vulgar construction. When you come to a play, you imagine the Scæne to be far of, at Rome, or at Rhodes, according to the subiect presented you on the stage: so must you here conceit, that this discourse was written long since, when the now Lord Secretarie *was then Lord Embassador (*quem honoris causâ nomino*) & intended for the priuate vse of an honourable gentleman: you may therefore pardon those passages which haue lesse coherence with these times, for that the face of thinges is much altered in France: and be assured, that where it rubbeth the French itche till it smart, or is dissonant from your riper iudgements, I vtterly disauow it, and would haue recalled it. But as it was out of my power to call in the booke: so is it out of my will to correct it: not holding it worthy the paines of a re-view, much lesse the charge of a re-impression. I haue onely taken it from the Godfathers and Nurses this publisher had bespoken (being now almost seauen yeares olde and past the Nurse) and put him to schoole to your fauourable entertainment: of whome he may learne to speake better French, and to knowe the French better. Desiring as tender parents doe, (because he is of a soft nature, and quickly snibd,) that you would vse him gentlie.*

Robert Dallington.

To my worſhipfull good friend *Maiſter Robert* Dalington.

Sir: *BEing well aſſured that this your worke (out of your owne protection) would in the end preſent it ſelfe to the generall view; and likely enough ſome one that loues you not ſo much, nor knowes you at all, might haue the paſsing of it: I haue put my ſelfe in the way of your reproofe; and am become a theefe of this nature, to ſteale no more from you then I will againe giue to you. If I could perſwade you there were a fault in modeſty, you would bid me publiſh the vertue which you tye vp in too ſtraight bonds. My fault is, I haue done that which would haue beene done; and the offer is ſo full of loue, that it lookes for a puniſhment accordingly.*

Edw: Blount.

The Analysis of this Discourse.

- In Tuscanie I obserue the
  - Countrey here the
    - Scite here the
      - Cosmographie. — Here of the Clime, the Degree, the Planet that rules the disposition of the ayre, &c.
      - Chorographie. — Here, of the length, bredth, circuit, how scituate, confined, limited, what Rivers, Ports, &c.
    - Partstheſe eyther
      - Individuall. — Here of each City in particular how many, how peopled, built, &c.
      - Generall theſe either
        - Mountaines — here of the cõmodities as Marble, Nuttes, Oliues, &c.
        - Valleis. — hereof their Herbage, fruit, grain, harveſt, ſoile, &c.
  - Gouernement here of the
    - Governor this either
      - Prince — here of his name, family, deſcent, iſſue, parentage, armies, ſtile, title, court, order, riches, forces, entrate, expences,
      - Law there the
        - Miniſter, here of them, of the Crowne, and of the body Politique.
        - Miniſtration either civill or criminall.
    - Governed. — Here, of the peoples nature, wits, aptnes diet, apparrell, language, iealouſie.

A METHOD for trauell.

PLato, one of the day-ſtarres of that knowledge, which then but dawning hath ſince ſhone out in clearer brightnes, thought nothing better for the bettering our vnderſtanding then *Trauell*: as well by hauing a conference with the wiſer ſort in all ſorts of learning, as by the Αὐτοψία The eye-ſight of thoſe things, which otherwiſe a man cannot haue but by *Tradition*; *A Sandy foundation either in matter of Science, or Conſcience.* So that a purpoſe to *Trauell*, if it be not *ad voluptatem Solum, ſed ad vtilitatem*, argueth an induſtrious and generous minde. Baſe and vulgar ſpirits houer ſtill about home: thoſe are more noble & diuine, that imitate the *Heauens*, and ioy in motion.

He therfore that intends to *Trauell* out of his owne country, muſt likewiſe reſolue to *Trauell* out of his country faſhion, and indeed out of himſelfe: that is, out of his former intemperate feeding, diſordinate drinking, thrift-leſſe gaming, fruit-leſſe time ſpending, violent exerciſing, & irregular miſgouerning whatſoeuer: he muſt determine, that the end of his *Trauell* is his ripening in knowledge; and the end of his knowledge is the ſeruice of his countrie, which of right challengeth the better part of vs.

This is done, by *Preseruation* of himselfe from the hazards of *Trauell*, and *Obseruation* of what he heares and sees in his trauelling. The hazards are two: of the minde, and of the body: that, by the infection of errors; this by the corruption of manners. For who so drinketh of the poysonous cup of the one, or tasteth of the sower liquor of the other, looseth the true rellish of religion and vertue, bringeth home a leprous soule, and a tainted body, retaining nothing but the shame of either, or repetance of both: whereof in my trauell I haue seene some examples, and by them made the vse to preuent both mischiefes, which I will briefly shewe: and first of the better part.

Concerning the *Trauelers* religion, I teach not what it should be, (being out of my Element) nor inquire what it is (being out of my Cõmission;) only my hopes are, he be of the religion here established: and my aduise is he be therein well setled, and that howsoeuer his imagination shall be carried in the voluble Sphere of diuers mens discourses; yet his in most thoughts like lines in a circle shall alwaies concenter in this immoueable point, not to alter his first faith: for that I knowe, that as all innouation is dangerous in a state; so is this chang in the little common wealth of a man. And it is to be feared, that he which is of one religion in his youth, and of another in his manhood, will in his age be of neither.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youth loued a maid, w̃ a religious kind of purest loue: all his studie was how to please her, his desire how to see her, his care how to keepe her, his feare not to loose her: to loue any other he held it sacriledge, to see any other superstition, to serue any other Idolatrie, to praise any other blasphemie: thus were his deuotiõs & affections wholy & solely bent vpon his first loue: the faireſt (he thought) and worthiest of all other. After that he went to liue in another part of the land, there his eye (the hearts intelligencer) told him he had found out a fairer obiect then his former Mistresse: Opinion and fancie

fancie came in as witneſſes, and auowed what the eye had alleged. So the heart &c.

So the heart (the foſter-father of affection) beſtowed it ſelfe vpon his new Saint: ſince which time he hath much miſliked his ſecond choice, quite forgotten his former change ſo farre neglecting both, as he likes neither, doubts all, and cares for none of that kind, in that kind. *Thus is it with them that change their Religion*. Wherefore if my *Trauellor* will keepe this birde fate in his boſome, he muſt neither be inquiſitiue after other mens Religions, nor prompt to diſcouer his owne. For I hold him vnwiſe that in a ſtrange country will either ſhew his mind or his mony.

I will inſtance in a Gentleman I knew abroade, of an ouert and free nature zealouſly forward in the religion hee carried from home, while he was in *France*, who had not bene twentie dayes in *Italy*, but he was as farre gone on the contrary Byas, and ſince his returne is turned againe. Now what ſhould one ſay of ſuch men but as the Philoſopher ſaith of a friend, *Amicus omnium, Amicus nullorum*, A profeſſor of both, a belieuer of neither.

The next Caueat is, to beware how he heare any thing repugnant to his religion: for as I haue tyed his tongue; ſo muſt I ſtop his eares, leaſt they be open to the ſmooth incantatiõs of an inſinuating ſeducer, or the ſuttle arguments of a ſophiſticall aduerſarie. To this effect I muſt preciſely forbid him the fellowſhip or cõpanie of one ſort of people in generall: theſe are the Ieſuites, vnderminders and inueiglers of greene wits, ſeducers of mẽ in matter of faith, & ſubuerters of mẽ in matter of State, making of both a bad chriſtian, & a worſe ſubiect. Theſe men I would haue my *Trauellor* neuer heare, except in the Pulpit; for being eloquent, they ſpeake excellent language; and being wiſe, and therefore beſt knowing how to ſpeake to beſt purpoſe, they ſeldome or neuer handle matter of controuerſie.

As for other orders of religion, Friers or Monkes, or whatſoeuer, let him vſe them for his bettering either in

matter of language or other knowledge, they are good cõpanions, they are not so dangerous; they talke more of their cheere then of their Church; of their feastes then their faith; of good wine then good workes; of courtisans then christianity: the reasõ is, because few of thẽ are learned; many careles in their professiõ, almost all dissolute in their cõuersatiõ.

I haue excepted against the persons: I will now protest against the places, these are, *Rome*, *Rhemes*, and *Dowaye*: but these two last being out of all ordinary roade of *Trauell*, I speake not of, he that goes that waie, goes doubly out of his waie, and shall neither haue this discourse for his direction, nor me for his cõpanion. Let me onely say of *Rome*, because it is the Seminarie and Nurserie of English fugitiues, (& yet a place most worthy to be seene) *Vel antiquitatis causa, vel nouitatis*, that it is suspected of all, knowne to many, & proued by some, & amongst these by my selfe, to be danggerous that way.

Thus much of the persons & places haue I noted, he that shall meet with others of like conditiõ & danger, let him see and shun. It remaineth I speake of bettering the minde, by the knowledge & vnderstanding of tongues: for as for learning the liberal sciẽces, he hath much better means at home, their maner of teaching and orders of Vniuersities, being farre inferiour to ours.

For the attaining therefore of language, it is conuenient that he make choice of the best places: these are, *Orleans* for the French; *Florence* for the *I*talian; & *Lipsick* for the Dutch tongues: for in these places is the best language spokẽ. And as we obserue a difference of speech in our countrie; of the North from the South; and the west frõ both: or as we haue learned of the Greekes, that they had fiue seuerall kindes of *Dialects*: so differ they infinitely in *Germany*, but that of *Misnia* is the best where *Lipsick* standes: more in *France*, where the *Picard* speakes one, the *Norman* another, the *Britton* his, the *Gascoigne* his, the *Prouençall* and *Sauoyard* theirs, the *Inlanders* theirs: but of all these the *Orleanois* is the best.

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As also in *Italy*, the *Romã* hath one kinde of phrase & pronouncatiõ; the *Neapolitan* another; the *Venetian* a third; the *Bergamasco* a worse; but the best of all is the *Tuscan* where *Florence* stands: yet I prescribe not these places so precisely, as that he may not liue in others, and learne the language as well: for in *Tuscany*, *Siena*, and *Prato*, are places where the speech is as good as that of *Florence*, and more retired, & of lesse charge: therefore fitter for some, whose proportion for expence is but small. So haue ye in *Germanie*, *Hydleburge* as good as *Lipsick*. And in *France Blois* as good as *Orleans*.

Hauing made choice of the place, his next care must be to make choice of a good reader, whereof he shall finde in his *Trauell* great scarcitie: the best I founde were *Monsieur Denison* a Canon of Saint *Croix* in *Orleans*, *il Signor Francesco*, *Florentino*, in *Padoua*, and *Padre Piffari*, *Monacho*, *Della*, *Rosa*, in *Siena*, after these he may inquire, that in these times shall *Trauell* ouer for language, except his good acquaintance, or good fortune bring him to better.

Were it that there were good readers, it were here needlesse to set downe a course of learning: for he might better haue a direction from them. But for the cause alleaged, I will presume to aduise him, that the most cõpendious way of attaining the tongue, whether *French* or *Italian*, is by booke, I meane for the knowledge, for as for the speaking, he shall neuer attaine it, but by continuall practize and conuersation: he shall therefore first learne his nownes & verbs by heart, and specially the articles, and their vses, with the two words *Sum* and *Habeo*: for in these consist the greatest obseruation of that part of speech. His reader shall not read any booke of Poetrie at the first, but some other kinde of stile, and I thinke meetest some moderne comedie.

Let his lecture consist more in questions and answers, either of the one or the other, then in the readers continued speech, for this is for the most part idle and fruitlesse: by the other many errors and mistakings, either in pronunciation or sence are reformed.

After three moneths he ſhall quit his lectures, and vſe his Maiſter only to walk with & diſcourſe, firſt the one, & then the other: for thus ſhal he obſerue the right vſe of the phraſe in his Reader, heare his owne faults reproued, & grow readie and prompt in his owne deliuerie: which with the right ſtraine of the accent, are the two hardeſt things in language.

Priuately he may for his pleaſure reade poetry, eſpecially, if at his returne he meane to court it: but for his profite, if he be a mā of meanes, & likely hereafter to beare charge in his countrie: or if a man of indeuours, & willing to prefer himſelf by ſeruice, I wiſh him to hiſtorie: if one that wuld make a fortune by the warres, I commend him (beſide hiſtorie) to the Mathematikes, diſcourſes of warre, and bookes of fortification.

To this reading, he muſt adde a continuall talking and exerciſing of his ſpeech with all ſorts of people, with boldneſſe and much aſſurance in himſelfe: for I haue often obſerued in others, that nothing hath more periudiced their profiting, then their owne diffidence and diſtruſt. To this I would haue him adde an often writing, either of matter of tranſlation, or of his owne inuention, where againe is requiſite the Readers eye, to cenſure and correct: for who ſo cannot write the language he ſpeakes, *I* count he hath but halfe the language.

Theſe then are the two onely meanes of obtaining a language, ſpeaking & writing: but the firſt is the chiefeſt, and therefore I muſt aduertiſe the *Trauellor* of one thing, which in other coūtries is a great hinderer thereof: namely, the often haunting & frequenting our own countrimen, whereof, he muſt haue a ſpeciall care, neither to diſ-taſte them by a too much retiredneſſe, nor to hinder himſelfe by too much familiaritie.

It is thought alſo, that one language is hindering to the pronunciation (if not learning) of another: which if it be in any, is in the pronouncing, not the learning: and in the *Italian*

lian to the French, not contrarie. To this effect therefore *I* would wish the *Trauellor*, first to spend his time in *France*, which language will much helpe to the vnderstanding, and nothing hinder the speaking of the *Italian*, especially vs, who of all other nations pronounce this language best next themselues by their owne confession.

There is also another reason why *I* would haue him see *Italie* last, because we best remember the last impressions, and *I* would rather he should come home *Italianate*, then *Frenchefied*: *I* speake of both in the better sense: for the *French* is stirring, bold, respectles, inconstāt, suddaine: The *Italian* stayed, demure, respective, graue, aduised. *I* would haue the *Trauellor* therefore (because *I* speake now of bettering his minde by conuersation) obserue with iudgement what he seeth in these nations of *Italie*, *France*, and *Germanie*, (for further I guide him not) & out of their better partes, leauing the worse to themselues, gather so much to his owne vse, as may make him a complete gentleman. For example, he shall obserue, that the *French* hath valour; but he hath withall *Vanitatem & leuitatem*. The *Italian* hath a discreete fashion of carriage; but with this he hath *Proteruiam & libidinem*: The *Dutch* hath an honest & reall manner of dealing, but not without *Comessatione & ebrietate*. Let him now of these three people learne their three vertues, so shall he come home a *Valiant*, *Wise*, *Honest* man. This is a better purchase then the *Italian* huffe of the shoulder, or the *Dutch* puffe with the pot, or the *French* apishnes, which many *Trauellers* bring home, who shew themselues rather of the Pazzi of *Florence*, then the Sauii of *Venice*; of the Squarcia-fichi of *Genoa*, then the Caccia-nemici of *Bologna*; rather to haue acquaintance with *Cornelius* then *Tacitus*.

It now followeth, ℣ I speake of the bodie which is preued in good state by diet and exercise: for his diet I neither prescribe what nor how much to eate, I presume him able before he set out, to keepe his nose from his sleeue,

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feede himselfe, and be his owne caruer: onelie I must aduise him to beware of their wines, which agree not with some natures, and are hurtfull to all in those hotter Countries, except sparingly taken or well qualified with water. As for his viandes I feare not his surfetting; his prouision is neuer so great, but ye may let him loose to his allowance. For I would not haue him liue at his owne prouision, (especially in *France*,) it will hinder his profiting, and only further him with some few kitchin and market phrases. Let him be still in pension with others (so they be such, whose language he learneth,) his care shal be the lesse, his profit the greater, and his expence, nothing the more. I shall not need to tell him before what his dyet shall be, his appetite will make it better then it is: for he shall be still kept sharpe: onely of the difference of dyets, he shall obserue thus much; that of *Germanie* is full or rather fulsome; that of *France* allowable; that of *Italie* tolerable: with the *Dutch* he shal haue much meat ill dressed; with the *French* lesse, but well handled; with the *Italian* neither the one nor the other.

As for his exercises, there is danger but of one in *France*, and that is tennis play: this is dangerous (if vsed with too much violence) for the body: & (if followed with too much diligence) for the purse. A maine point of the *Trauellers* care. There is another exercise to be learned in *France*, because there are better teachers, and the *French* fashion is in most request with vs, that is, of dancing. This I meane to my *Traualler* that is yong and meanes to follow the Court: otherwise I hold it needelesse, and in some ridiculous.

I remember a countriman of ours, well seene in arts and language, well stricken in yeares, a mourner for his second wife, a father of mariageable children, who with other his booke studies abroade, ioyned also the exercise of dancing: it was his hap in an honourable *Bal* (as they call it) to take a fall, which in mine opinion was not so disgracefull as the dancing it selfe, to a man of his stuffe.

These former therefore are two exercises, which I permit,

(but

(but with their limitation) there remaines two other, to which I perſwad: thoſe tolerable, theſe cõmendable, thoſe of grace and complement, theſe of vſe and neceſsitie, to him that will returne ably quallified for his countries ſeruice in warre, and his owne defence in priuate quarrell. Theſe are Riding, and Fencing. His beſt place for the firſt (excepting *Naples*) is in *Florence* vnder *il Signor Ruſtico*, the great Dukes *Cauallerizzo*: and for the ſecond (excepting *Rome*) is in *Padua*, vnder *il Sordo*.

I muſt now aduiſe him of ſuch thinges as are without himſelfe, but within the compaſſe of his owne care. Theſe are mony, bookes, apparrell.

Mony, the ſinnues of warre, and ſoule of *Trauell*, as at home, ſo abroade is the man. They ſay he ſhould haue two bagges, the one of crownes, the other of patience: but howſoeuer this laſt be emptie, I could wiſh that other were ſtill full: whereout he muſt proportion his yearely expence, not exceeding the limmits of his propounded allowance. If he *Trauell* without a ſeruant, fourſcore pounds ſterling is a competent proportion, except he learne to ride: if he maintaine both theſe charges, he can be allowed no leſſe then one hundred and fiftie poundes: and to allowe aboue two hundred, were ſuperfluous, and to his hurte. And thus rateably, according to the number he keepeth.

The ordinarie rate of his expence, is this: ten gold crownes a moneth his owne dyet, eight for his man (at the moſt) two crownes a moneth his fencing, as much dancing, no leſſe his reading, & fiftene crownes monethly his riding: but this exerciſe hee ſhall diſcontinue all the heate of the yeare. The remainder of his 150. pound I allow him for apparell, bookes, *Trauelling* charges, tennis play, and other extraordinarie expences.

Let him haue foure bills of exchange with him for the whole yeare, with letters of aduiſe, to be paid him quarterly, by equall portions: ſo ſhall he not want his mony at the day, nor be driuen to thoſe ſhifts, which I haue ſeene di-

uers put to, by long expecting letters out of *England*, which either their friends forgetfulneſſe, or the carriers negligēce, or the miſcarrying of their letters, by intercepting or other accident, hath cauſed.

If he carrie ouer mony with him (as by our law he cannot carrie much) let it bee in double piſtolets, or *French* crownes of waight: by theſe he is ſure to ſuſtaine loſſe in no place: and in *Italie* to gaine aboue twelue pence in the pound.

Concerning his bookes, let them be few or none he carrieth from place to place: or if any, that they be not ſuch as are prohibited by the inquiſitiō: leaſt whē his Male is ſearched (as it is at euery Cities gate in *Italie*) they bring him to trouble: whatſoeuer they be, they will put him to charge, for he paieth gabell (tole) for them at euerie ſuch towne. I would onely haue him carrie the papers of his owne obſeruation, eſpecially, a Giornale, wherein from day to day, he ſhall ſet downe, the diuers Prouinces he paſſeth, with their commodities, the townes, with their manner of buildings, the names, & benefit of the riuers, the diſtance of places, the condition of the ſoile, manners of the people, and what elſe his eye meeteth by the way remarqueable.

When he commeth to the place of his reſidence, let him furniſh himſelfe, with the beſt bookes of that profeſsion, to which he addicteth his ſtudie, or other he ſhall finde, not to be got heere in *England*, and at his departure, ſend them home by his Merchants meanes.

I muſt aduiſe for his apparell, as for his bookes: that vpon his iorney, he be not ouercharged with ouer much luggage, euen a light burthen is farre heauie: beſide, ſomewhat is likewiſe to be paid for theſe, at the entry of euerie Cittie gate. Let him alſo take heede that the apparell hee weares, be in faſhion in the place where he reſideth; for it is no leſſe ridiculous to weare cloathes of our faſhion among them, then at our returne to vſe ſtill their faſhion among vs. A notorious affectatiō of many *Trauellers*. I con-

clude

clude therefore this first branch (of *Preseruation*) with like aduise as it begun: that when he comes out of those forraine countries, he likewise come out of their humors and habits, and come home to himselfe, fashioned to such carriage in his apparrell, gesture, & conuersation, as in his owne country is most plausible, and best approued.

It now remaineth *I* vndertake the second branch of *Obseruation* whereof *I* shall better deliuer my selfe, and edify my *Trauceller*, rather by way of example, then by precept. *I* take therefore for my instance, the great Kingdome of *France*. *I* call it great in respect of the maine firme land, containing by estimation, about two hundred millions of arpens: great, in the greatnes of the King now liuing: great, in the Nobilitie. whereof are a dosen houses extracted from the loynes of absolute Princes: great in the Clergie, being aboue an hundred Arch-bishops and Bishops: great, in the people, being aboue fifteene millians of soules: great, in the prescriptiō, hauing cōtinued in one forme of gouernment, one thousand and almost two hundred yeares: great in the succession, hauing had frō *Pharomond* threescore and foure Kings: and lastly great in the great abundance of all fruites and commodities, necessarie for the sustenance of the inhabitant, chalenging truly to bee that in her selfe which *Aristotle* requires in a happie state, (*Autarches:*) *sibi sufficiens*. No maruaile then, if in so great a field of matter *I* loose my selfe, or speaking of the *French* nation, play as the *French* men did with the Kingdome of *Naples*, enter with braue resolution, and come of with shamefull losse.

Errors of computation escaped in the discourse following.

B. 3. P. 2 Sauoy from Lionnois, and Dolpheny from Languedeck: read: Dolpheny from Lionnois, and Pronence from Languedock.

N. 1. P. 1. Twoe hundred Millions of crownes: read: Twoe hundred Millions of Liuers.

M 4: P. 1. Fifteene or sixteene thousand poundes: read fifteene or sixteene hundred thousand poundes.

P. 1. Pa 1. Fifteen thowsand poundes: read: fifteene hundred thowsand poundes.

P. 2. Pa. 2. Eighteene or twentie thousand poundes: reade: two Millions of poundes.

P, 3. P. 2. One shilling eight pence: reade: one shilling six pence.

R. 2. P. 1. One hundred and foure Bishopricks: reade: ninetie two Bishopricks.

Other faultes escaped in the printing, are left to be corrected by the diligent reader.

THE VIEVV OF FRANCE.

CÆSAR in his Commentaries, deuideth the people of Gaule, into *Belgi*, *Celtæ*, and *Aquitani*, parted the one from the other by the two Riuers of *Seine* and *Garond*: the *Aquitani* from the *Celtæ* by the *Garond*: the *Belgi* from the *Celtæ* by the *Seine*, and these betweene the two Riuers. According to which diuision, *Philip de Commines* boundeth France with two Seas, the Ocean and Mediterranean; with two Mountaynes, the Alpes and Pireneis, and with one Riuer, the Rheine. *Caſar Com. lib. 1.* *P. Commines.*

If I should follow the direction of these two most approued authorities, I must be forced to discourse of such Princes, as are interessed in this large compasse, as namely, the *Spanish King*, the *States of the low Countries*, the Dukes of *Sauoy* and *Lorraine*, the *Pope* himselfe, the little City of *Geneua*, and others: but I onely purpose to take a view of that which is directly vnder the Crowne of France at this day, and thereof to giue a superficiall relation. *Limits.*

France then is seated vnder a very temperate and wholesome Clymate, *En tout le monde il n'y a Region mieux ſituée que celle de la France, car nous y tenons de region chaude et auſſi de la froid*: There is no Countrey in the world better scituate then that of France: for it participateth of the Clymate both hote and cold. It is in length from *Bologne* to *Marseilles*, two hundred leagues (after the rate of three English miles a league) and in breadth from *Mount S. Bernard*, to *S. Iohn de Luze*, as much: *P. Commines.* *Cabinet du Roy.*

much: for it is holden by ſome Authours to be of figure, quadrate: which notwithſtanding *Bodin* denyeth, avowing it to be in forme of a Lozenge, with whom *La Noüe* conſenteth, meaſuring it thus: From *Calais* (for now *Calais* is French) to *Narbone*, North and South, is two hundred leagues: from *Rochell* to *Lions*, Weſt and Eaſt, is one hundred and twenty leagues: From *Mets* to *Bayonne* Northeaſt and Southweſt, two hundred leagues; and from *Morley* in *Bretagny*, to *Antibe* in *Prouence*, Northweſt and Southeaſt, as much. True it is, that many places within this compaſſe are holden, but not of the King, as *Auignon*, and what elſe the Pope hath: *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Mets*, of the Empire: *Cambray*, of the houſe of Auſtrich, in like caſe of Protection, as *Conſtance* in Swiſſerland, *Vtrich* in the lowe Countries, and *Vienna* in Auſtria: and as *Lucca* and *Genoua* in Italy, protected by the King of Spayne. So doe *Lorraine* alſo and *Sauoy* hold of the Empire. As contrarily, there be places out of this circuit, which notwithſtanding hold of this Crowne in right, and owe him fealty and homage; as the Spanyard for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which he hath euer ſince the time of *Frauncis* the firſt, denied to render.

Bodin. lib. 6.

La Noüe.

Prouinces.

THe diuers Prouinces of the Countrey are very many: the chiefe are theſe; *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Ile of France*, *Beauſſe*, *Bretagne*, *Aniowe*, *Maine*, *Poictowe*, *Lymoſin*, *Xantonge*, *Champaigne*, *Berry*, *Sologne*, *Auuergne*, *Niuernois*, *Lyonnois*, *Charrolois*, *Bourbonois*, *Daulpheine*, *Prouence*, *Languedocke*, *Tourraine*, *and Burgundy*. All which are particularly ſet downe in Mappes, as alſo in the Booke, called The French Guide, where he vnder-

La Guide.

vndertaketh to reſemble eche Countrie to ſome other thing, as *Bretaigne*, to a horſe ſhooe; *Picardy*, to a Neats toung; and ſuch like: which are but idle and diſproportioned compariſons, as one may well obſerue, that ſeeth theſe Countries in the Card.

But the thing of beſt note in each of theſe, is their ſingular Commodities and fruits, wherewith they are bleſſed for the ſuſtenance of the Inhabiter: In ſomuch that as they ſay of *Lombardy*, that it is the Garden of Italy: ſo may we truly ſay of France, that it is the Garden of Europe. *Picardy*, *Normandy* and *Languedocke*, goodly Countries of Corne, as any in Chriſtendome, all the Inland Countries, full of Wine, fruits & graine: in ſome, great ſtore of wood; in others, of flaxe; in others, Mines of ſalt; in others, of Iron: Inſomuch as one ſayth, *Toutes choſes neceſſaires à la vie humaine y regorgent en telle abondance, que ſeulement du bled, du vin, du ſel, et du paſtel, qui ſe tranſporte es païs eſtrangers, il y entre en contr'eſchange annuellement plus de douze millions de liures*: All things neceſſary for mans life ouerflow there in ſuch abundance, that in counterchange only of the Corne, Wine, Salt & Woad, tranſported into forreine Countries, there is yeerely brought into France twelue hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. And another no leſſe approued, and as well practiſed in the State of France, ſayth, *Les ſources du ſel, du vin, et du bled, ſont ineſpuiſables*: The Springs of Salt, Wine and Corne, are not to bee drawne dry. In which place, he complayneth, that the Kings of France were wont in times paſt to helpe their neede with ſales of Wood, which are now of late yeeres ſo ſpoyled, as France ſhall ſhortly be forced to haue their Iard frõ other coũtries, as alſo wood to build

Cõmodities.

La Noüe.

Bod. li. 6.

and burne: a complaynt which I haue often heard in England. Other Prouinces haue alſo their eſpeciall Commodities, wherein they excell their neighbours: as in *Lymoſin*, the beſt Beeues; about *Orleans*, the beſt Wines; in *Auuergne*, the beſt Swyne; in *Berry*, the beſt Muttons, where there is ſuch ſtore, as thereof they haue a Prouerbe, when they would taxe a fellow for his notable lying, that tells of a greater number then the truth, they ſay, *Il n'y a tant de Moutons en Berry*: As one would ſay, Fye, there be not ſo many ſheepe in Berry. They partake with vs alſo in ſea commodities: as vpon the coaſt of *Picardy*, where the ſhore is ſandy, they haue ſtore of flat fiſh: vpon the coaſt of *Normandy* & *Guyen*, where it is rocky, fiſh of the Rocke (as the French call them) and vpon the coaſt of *Bretaigne*, where it is muddy, ſtore of round fiſh, as Lamprey, Conger, Haddock; ſo likewiſe in diuers ſeaſons, diuers other ſorts, as Mackerels in the end of the Spring, and *Maquerelles* (Bawds) at all times, Herrings in the beginning of Autumne, as we haue in England, &c.

Bod. contra Malateſt.

Bodin will needs take vpon him, being no more pertinent to his matter, then it is heere, to ſhew the reaſon why in old time among the moſt delicate & toothſome Trencher-men of the ancient Romanes, they alwayes feaſted with Fiſh: becauſe (ſayth hee) it is neyther ſo mezzeld as Porke; nor ſcabd as Mutton; nor ranke as Goat; nor dropſy as Lambe; nor impoſtumate as Beefe; nor ſubiect to the falling ſickneſſe, as Quayles and Turky-Cocks; nor to inflammations, as Capons; nor to lice as Pigeons: and yet the friand French-man, as well as we, neuer eats it, but on *maigre dayes* (faſting dayes) and then alſo by compulſion of the Lawe. But by his leaue,

Bod. contra Mal.

leaue, I ſuppoſe, they in old time did it vpon a vaine-glorious prodigalitie, not for any licorouſnes; for *Sardanapalus* neuer made his great banquets of Fiſh, but when he was fartheſt from Sea: and *Aeſope* the Tragicke, that ſpent 15000. crownes at a feaſt, beſtowed it all in birdes tongues, as of Linnets, Nightingales, and ſuch others as had beene taught to ſing, that the price might be the greater. Giue me for all this the good old Biſhop of *Toledo* his Capon, who vpon a faſting day would needs make the companie at table beleeue, that by the force of certaine wordes of conſecration, he had tranſſubſtantiate this fat Fowle into fiſh, and that there onely remained the outward forme, as *Poggio* the Florentine reports of him. *Iuſtin.* *Poggio.*

This Country muſt needs be wel ſtored with fiſh; for beſides the benefit of the ſea, the lakes and ponds belonging only to the Clergie, which at the moſt haue but one third of France, are reported to be 135. thouſand. *Cabinet du Roy.*

The riuers alſo of France are ſo many, as *Boterus* reporteth of the Queene Mother, ſhe ſhould ſay heere were more then in all Chriſtendome; but we hold her for no good Coſmographer; ſhee had her other qualities, which ſhall not be forgotten in their fit place. True it is, that the riuers here are many, and very faire, and ſo fitly ſeruing one the other, & al the whole, as it ſeemeth, nature, in the framing of our bodies, did not ſhew more wonderfull prouidence, in diſpoſing veines and arteries throughout the bodie, for their apt conueyance of the blood and ſpirit, from the liuer and heart, to each part thereof, then ſhee hath ſhewed in the placing of theſe waters, for the tranſporting of all her com- *Boterus Relations.* *Riuers.*

modities to all her ſeuerall Prouinces. Of all thoſe, theſe are the principall; the *Seine*, vpon which ſtandeth the Citie of *Paris*, *Rouen*, and many other. It hath his head a little aboue *Chatillon* in the northweſt of *Lingenois*, and receyueth nine Riuers of name; whereof the *Yonne*, the *Marne*, & the *Oyſe* are nauigable, that is, doe carrie boats with ſayle.

The *Some*, whereupon ſtandeth the Citie of *Amyens*, *Abbeuile*, and many other: It hath his head aboue *S. Quentin*, diuideth *Picardie* from *Artois*, and receyueth eight leſſer Riuers. The *Loire* hath ſtanding vpon it the Cities of *Orleans*, *Nantes*, and many others: his head is in *Auuergne*, it parteth the middle of France, his courſe is almoſt two hundred Leagues, it receyueth 72. Riuers, whereof the chiefe are *Allier*, *Cher*, *Mayne*, *Creuſe*, *Vienne*, all nauigable. The *Garond*, vpon which ſtandeth *Bourdeaux*, *Thoulouſe*, and other Cities: it hath his head in the *Pyreney* mountaines, it diuideth *Languedocke* from *Gaſcoine*, it receyueth ſixteene riuers, whereof *Iarne*, *Lot*, *Bayze*, *Dordonne*, and *Liſle* are chiefeſt.

And laſtly, the *Rhoſne*, vpon which ſtandeth the Citie of *Lions*, *Auignon*, and diuers others: it hath his head in the mountaines *Alpes*, deuideth *Sauoy* from *Lyonnois*, and *Dolpheine* from *Languedocke*, it receyueth thirteene riuers, whereof the *Soane*, the *Doue*, *Ledra*, and *Durance* are the chiefeſt.

All the other Riuers carrie their ſtreames into the Ocean, *Some* at *Saint Vallery*, *Seine* at *Newhauen*, *Loyre* beneath *Nantes*, and *Garond* at *Blay*: onely the Riuer of *Rhoſne* payeth his tribute to the *Mediterranean* at *Arles*.

The

The *Seine* is counted the richeſt, the *Rhoſne* the ſwifteſt, the *Garond* the greateſt, the *Loyre* the ſweeteſt, for the difference which *Boterus* makes of them, where he omits the *Garond*, and makes the *Soane* a principall Riuer, is generally reiected. *Boterus Relations.*

When we rightly conſider the happie fruitfulneſſe of this ſoyle, and the exceeding benefit of theſe riuers, I know not what wee ſhould ſay is wanting, vnleſſe yee will ſay, *Animus, qui his vtatur, deeſt*, wit to vſe them: for in deede the French hath theſe eight and thirtie yeeres abuſed them with their ciuill and inteſtine warres. Doe but conceyt in your imagination the faire Townes of Italy heere ſeated, and in them, the Engliſh Nation planted: and in my opinion, ye haue the right Idea of *Platoes* happy State: *O vtinam! O ſi!* *Terentius.*

But I muſt remember one inconuenience and diſcommodity it hath.

I haue heard ſome poore Countrey-man ſay, He loues not to haue his houſe too neere a Lawyer. It ſhould ſeeme they bee ill Neighbours; and it may be that *Themiſtocles* roued at ſome ſuch matter, when hee cauſed the Sergeant to cry in publike place, that beſides all the good properties which his Farme had, that hee ſet to ſale, *Qu'il auoit bon voiſin*: That he had a good neighbour. *Plutarch. in Them.*

This is the miſchiefe, that faire France hath about her ſo many bad neyghbours, as *Lorraine*, *Sauoy*, and *Spayne*, of whoſe good affection to this Countrey, wee may ſay with the Poet, *Vnum cognoris, omnes noris*: Knowe one, and knowe them all: Neyther of them wiſh her better then other,

as hath well appeared in the late ciuill warres, wherein eche thought to haue had his ſhare, howſoeuer (now) they loue no Grapes.

Hauês and Ports. *La Guide.* The Ports and paſſages into France, where Cuſtome is payd to the King, were in times paſt more then they be now: the names of them at this preſent, are theſe: In *Picardy, Calais, Bologne, S. Vallery.* In *Normandy, Diepe, Le Haure de Grace, Honnefleux, Caen, Cherbrouge.* In *Bretaigne, S. Malo, S. Brieu,* Breſt, *Quimpercorentine, Vannes, Nants.* In *Poictowe, Luſſon, les ſables d'Olonne.* In *Rochellois, Rochelle.* In *Xantogne, Zoubiſſe.* In *Guyenne,* Bourdeux, Blay, Bayonne. In *Languedocke, Narbonne, Agde,* Beucaire, *Maugueil.* In *Prouence, Arles, Marſeilles, Franſts.* In *Lionnois, Lions.* In Burgogne, *Auſonne, Langres.* In *Champagne, Chaumont, Chalons, Trois.* In the Territory *Metzin, Metz, Toul, Verdun.* In all, thirty ſeuen: Of all theſe, *Lions* is reputed to be the moſt aduantageous to the Kings Finances, as being the key for all ſilks, clothes of gold and ſiluer, and other marchandiſe whatſoeuer, which come or goe from *Italy, Swiſſerland,* and all thoſe Southeaſt Countreyes, into France, which are brought to this Towne by the two faire Riuers of *Rhoſne* and *Soan*: the one comming from *Sauoy,* the other from *Burgundy,* and heere meeting: where, by the way, me thinks, I may fitly compare theſe two Waters, to two great Princes of theſe two great Countries, comming to be maried at this great City, which within the walles is within ten Toyſes as large as Paris. In which alluſion, I make the *Rhoſne* (which in the French toung is of the maſculine gender) the Sauoyard Prince; and the *Soane,* which is likewiſe in this language, the feminine, the Princeſſe of Burgundy;

which

which conceit is the better warranted, becauſe *le Rhoſne* is a very ſwift and furious Riuer, which well agreeth with the nature and condition of the man; and *la Sona*, a ſtill and ſweet water, which rightly ſymbolizeth with the quality of a woman.

I would our Poet, that made a marriage betweene the *Medun* and *Thames* at *Rocheſter*, had the handling of this matter; for it becomes a Poeme better then a Relation. *Spencer.*

For profit, next to *Lions*, are *Bourdeaux*, *Rochell*, *Marſeilles*, *Nantes* & *Newhauen*: But for capability of ſhipping, I haue heard that *Breſt* excelleth; and for ſtrength, *Calais*, eſpecially as it is now lately fortified by the Spanyard, which was not let long ſince to bee called, *La plus belle Capitainezie du monde, au moins de la Chreſtiente*: The goodlyeſt gouernment in the world, at leaſt in Chriſtendome. *Comminees cap. 50.*

There are requiſite in all Ports, to make them perfit, theſe foure things: 1. *Magnarum & multarum Nauiũ capabilitas.* 2. *Nauibus tutiſſima ſtatio.* 3. *Ad hoſtilem vim coercendam habilitas.* 4. *Mercatorum frequentatio*: 1. Roome to receiue many and great Ships. 2. Safe riding. 3. Facility of repelling forraine force. 4. Concourſe of Marchants. The moſt of theſe French Ports haue all foure properties, except onely the laſt, which in the time of theſe ciuill broyles, haue diſcontinued: and except that we will alſo graunt, that *Calais* fayles in the firſt. *Lipſius.*

The Cities in France (if ye will count none Cities, but where is a Biſhops Sea, are onely one hundred & foure. There be ſo many Archbiſhops and Biſhops in all, as ſhall in more fit place be ſhewed: But after the *Cities.* *Bodin. li. 5*

French rekoning, calling euery *Ville*, a City, which is not eyther a Burgade, or a Village, we ſhall finde that their number is infinite, and indeed vncertaine, as is alſo the number of the townes in generall. Some ſay, there bee one million and ſeuen hundred thouſand: but they are of all wiſe men reproued. Others ſay, ſixe hundred thouſand; but this is alſo too great to be true. The *Cabinet* rateth them at one hundred thirty two thouſand of Pariſh Churches, Hamlets and Villages of all ſorts. *Bodin* ſayth, there be twenty ſeuen thouſand and foure hundred, counting only euery City for a Pariſh: which will very neere agree with that of the *Cabinet*; and therefore I embrace it as the trueſt.

Cabinet.

Bodin. li. 6

By the reckoning before ſet downe of two hundred leagues ſquare (which France almoſt yeeldeth) we muſt compute, that here is in all forty thouſand leagues in ſquare, and in euery league, fiue thouſand Arpens of ground, which in all amounteth to two hundred millions of Arpens: which ſumme being deuided by the number of the Pariſhes, ſheweth, that one with another, eche Village hath one thouſand, fiue hundred and fifteene Arpens, which meaſure is bigger then our Acre.

Wee may, if wee will, abſtract a third, becauſe *Bodin* will not admit France to be ſquare, but as a Lozenge: For in matter of ſuch generality as this, men doe alwayes ſet downe ſuppoſitions, not certaynties.

Of all theſe Cities and great Townes, I will omit to ſpeake in particular (though a Stranger muſt very preciſely obſerue whatſoeuer he ſees in his trauayle) affying in *La Noüe* his cenſure, for their maner

ner of Fortification. *Si on veut* (ſayth hee) *regarder par toute la France, ie cuyde qu'on n'y trouuera, horſmis quelques chaſteux, aucune ville qui ſoit à demy parfaite, ſelon les regles des ingenieures*: If a man will looke throughout all France, I thinke that (ſome Caſtles excepted) hee ſhall not finde any Towne halfe perfectly fortifyed, according to the rules of Ingeners. La Noüe.

Onely I muſt adde, that ſince his time, which is now aboue twenty yeeres, many Townes alſo haue bettered their maner of fortifying: amongſt which, none more (by report) then that of *Rochell*: and lately, that of *Amiens*, of which wee might laſt yeere, while the Spanyard held it, ſay (as is ſayd of *Decelea*, in the Territory of *Athens*) which *Alcibiades* counſelled the Lacedemonians, to take and fortify, namely, that it did *conſumet et mettre abas la puiſſance de la France, autant et plus que nulle autre choſe*: Conſume and bring low the power of France, as much as any thing elſe whatſoeuer: And that it kept and ſcowred all the paſſages from *Paris* to *Rouen*, like that other from *Athens* to *Eleuſina*. Plutarcho in Alc.

But as the loſſe of this Towne wounded the whole body of France, ſo the regayning of it, was not onely the healing of the hurt receyued (wherin it was better then the *Pelias Haſta*) but alſo the rayſing of it to theſe happy tearmes, wherein it now ſtands.

This Towne would giue mee good occaſion to ſpeake of the laſt yeeres ſiege, the Cardinalles comming, and the Cittyes yeelding, with many other accidents very memorable and worthy the recounting; wherein I had rather ſpend an howres

time in talking, then any Paper in writing; for that, to pen it, asketh the iudgement of a Soldier, of which honour I am most vnworthy: Neyther will I also spend time in the discoursing of other Cities, which we haue seene heere in France, as of their situation, building, wealth and fortification, saue onely of *Paris*, because the French say, this is a world, no City.

After that, I will breefly relate of the Castles in France, and of some reasons why it is preiudiciall to the quiet of a State, to haue many of them, except they all belong to the Prince, who ought to haue of them in his frontier places, and Lymitrophes (as they call them) and vpon Cities which are strong to keepe thē in awe, not else; and as that of S. *Katherines*, which you sawe at *Rouen*, now rased: and then I will end the first branch of this Relation, namely, of the Topography of this Countrey.

Paris. The City of *Paris*, seated in a very fruitful and pleasant part of the *Ile of France*, vpon the Riuer of *Sein*, is by the same deuided into three parts: that on the North towards S. *Denis*, is called the *Burge*: that on the South toward the Fauxbourges of S. *Germaines*, is called the *Vniuersity*, and that in the little Ile, which the Riuer there makes, by deuiding it selfe, is called the *Ville*.

This part, no doubt, is the most ancient; for saith my Authour, *Lutece est vne ville des Parisiens, assise en vne Isle de Seine*: Lutecia is a City of the Parisians, seated in an Ile of the Seine. We may distinguish it thus: into *Transequana*, *Cisequana*, and *Interamnis*: The part beyond the *Seine*: that on this side the *Seine*, and that in the Ile encompast with the Riuer. It is reputed not onely the capitall City of France, but also the greatest

Caesar Com. li. 7.

teſt in all *Europe*. It is about the walls, ſome ten Engliſh miles: theſe are not very thicke, the want whereof is recompenced with the depth of the ditch, and goodnes of the Rampart, which is thicke and defenſible, ſaue on the South ſide, which, no doubt, is the weakeſt part of the Towne, on which ſide it is reported, that the L. *Willoughby* offred the King in foure dayes to enter, at ſuch time as he beſieged it. Wherevnto the King condeſcended not by the counſell of the olde Marſhall *Biron*, who told him, It was no policy to take the Bird naked, when he may haue her feathers and all. On the other ſide, eſpecially towards the Eaſt, it is very well fortified with Bulwarke and Ditch, fayre and moderne, *Les Rampars furent faictes et portes* S. *Antoine*, S. *Michel*, *et* S. *Iaques et ailleurs*, 1544. The Ramparts of the Gates S. *Anthony*, S. *Michel*, and S. *Iames*, and elſewhere, were made 1544. *M. Biron.* *Antiq. Par.*

This Baſtile of S. *Anthony*, was built (ſome ſay) by the Engliſh; and indeed it is ſomewhat like thoſe peeces which they haue built elſewhere in France, as namely, that at *Rouen*: howbeit, I read in *Vigner* his Cronicle, that it was builded by a Preuoſt of *Paris*, in the time of *Edward* the third of England, at what time our Kings began their firſt clayme, and had as yet nothing to doe in this City. *Vigner. hiſt. bib.*

Some other monuments I purpoſe to ſpeake of, with their Founders, by the example of *Plutarch*, who in his diſcourſe of *Athens*, particularizeth in this maner: *Pantheon Hecatompedon*, built by *Ictinus* and *Callicraditas*, the Chappell of *Eleuſine*, by *Corabus*: the *Lanterne*, by *Xenocles*: the *Theater*, or the *Odeon*, by *Pericles*: the Port *Pyræum*, by *Mueſicles*, and the *Palladium of Pallas*, by *Phidias*. *Plut. Peri.*

Phidias. So in this Towne, the *Chaſtelet* was built by *Iulian* the Apoſtata: the *Vniuerſity* was founded by *Charlemagne*, Anno, 800. who alſo erected thoſe of *Bologna* and *Padoa*.

Haillan. li. 1.

The Church of *Noſtre Dame* (Our Lady) was founded Anno, 1257. where are theſe verſes following engrauen, to ſhew the greatneſſe of it:

Antiq. Par.

Si tu veux ſçauoir comme eſt ample
de Noſtre Dame le grand Temple:
Il a dans œuure pour le ſeur
dixſept toyſer de hauteur:
Sur la largeur de vingt et quattre, et ſoixante et cinq ſans rebattre, A de long: aux, tours haut montées trent quattre ſont bien comptées, Le tout fonde ſur pillotis, anſſi vray, que ie te le dis:

If you would know the greatneſſe of the great Church of our Lady, the roofe thereof is 17. fathom high, it is 24. fathom broad, 65. fathom long, the two Steeples are 34. fathom high aboue the Church, and al founded vpon piles.

The *Hoſtel de la ville* (The Towne-Houſe) was finiſhed by *Francis* 1. Anno. 1533. with this inſcription ouer the Gate, S.P.E.P. that is, *Senatui, Populo, Equitibuſque Pariſienſibus piè de ſe meritis, Franciſcus primus Francorum Rex potentiſſimus, has ades a fundamentis extruendas mandauit, accurauit, condendiſque publicè conſiliis et adminiſtrandæ Reip. dicauit, anno vt ſupra:*

For his wel-deſeruing Senate, people & Burghers of *Paris*, *Francis* the 1. moſt puiſſant King of France, commanded this houſe to be built from the foundation, and finiſhed it, & dedicated it to the calling of the Common Coũcell, and gouerning the Citie, in the yere aforeſaid.

This

This is, as ye would say, the Guild Hall of the towne. The *Hostel Dieu* in *Paris*, was augmented and finished in 1535. by *Antoine de Prat*, Chancelor in this City, his pourtreict with *Francis* 1. is vpon the dore as ye enter. This is (as we call it at London) the Hospitall. The *Palaice de Paris* was built by *Philip le Bel*, 1283. purposing it should haue bin his mansion house; but since, it hath bene disposed into diuers Courts, for the execution of Iustice, iust like *Westminster Hall*, which likewise at first was purposed for the Kings Palace.

Here you haue such a shew of Wares in fashion, but not in worth, as ye haue at the *Exchange*. Heere is a Chappell of the S. *Esprit*, built by S. *Lewes*, 1242. Here are all the seuen Chambers of the Court of Parliament (which was first instituted by *Charles Martel*, father to King *Pepin*, *anno* 720.) but of them all, the great Chamber of *Paris* is most magnificently beautified and adorned by *Lewes* the twelfth. At the entry, is a Lion cowchant, with his tayle betweene his legges, to signify, that all persons, how high soeuer, are subiect to that Court. *Haillan. lib.* 1.

The Chamber also of Comptes, built by this *Lewes*, is a very fayre roome; at the entry whereof are fiue portreicts with their Mots. The first is *Temperance*, with a Diall and Spectacle: Her word, *Mihi spreta voluptas*: I despise pleasure. Secondly, *Prudence*, with a looking Glasse, and a Siue: her word, *Consilijs rerum speculor*: I prye into the Counsell of things. *Iustice*, with a Ballance and a sword: her Mot, *Sua cuiq; minister*: I giue to euery man his owne. *Fortitude*, with a Tower in one arme, and a Serpent in the other:

her word, *Me dolor atque metus fugiunt*, Both payne and feare auoyde me. And laſtly, *Lewes* the King, with a Scepter in one hand, and holding Iuſtice by the other, and this written for his word,

Quatuor hæ Comites foueo, cœleſtia dona,
Innocuæ pacis proſpera Sceptra gerens:
My happie Scepter in calme peace doth flouriſh,
While I theſe heauen-bred ſiſters 4. do nouriſh.

To ſpeake particularly of all other the buildings and Courts of this Palace, as the Chamber of the Treaſurer, the Table of Marble, the Courtes of Aides, and ſuch like, were to be too tedious.

The buildings of this Citie are of ſtone, very fayre, high, and vniforme, throughout the towne, onely vpon the Port *N. Dame*, Our Ladies Bridge, which is, as it were, their Cheapeſide: their building is of brickbat, all alike notwithſtanding; the fayreſt Fabricke in the towne (and worthily) is the Kings Caſtle or Palace of the *Louure* at the weſt: It is in forme quadrangulare, the ſouth and weſt quarters are new and Princelike, the other two very antique and priſonlike. They were puld downe by *Francis.* 1. and begun to be rebuilt, but finiſhed by *Henry the ſecond*, with this inſcription, *Henricus 2. Rex Chriſtianiſſimus, vetuſtate collapſum ædificium refigere cœpit.* The moſt Chriſtian King *Henry* the 2. began to repaire this time-ruined edifice.

From this Palace, the King is building a Galery, which runnes along the riuer Eaſt and Weſt, and his purpoſe is, it ſhall paſſe ouer the towne ditch with an Arch, and ſo cõtinue to the *Twilleries*, which is at leaſt ſixe hũdred paces, and ſo both theſe buildings ſhall bee vnited into one: which, if euer it be done, will bee the greateſt and goodlieſt

goodlieſt Palace of *Europe*: This Gallery is very curiouſly wrought with Flowers de luce, curious knots, branches, and ſuch like deuice, cut in ſtone; and in euery place this word of the Kings, *Deus protegit vnus*. Which I ſuppoſe, implyeth, One God maintaynes the two Kingdomes of France and Nauarre.

The building of the *Twilleries*, begun by the *Q. Mother* (which is alſo a ſtately work) is now in the finiſhing: for this *Queene Mother* began many things, but finiſhed none (except miſchiefes) witneſſe this preſent houſe of the *Twilleries*, and that other at S. *Maur* ſome two leagues from *Paris*, whither, ye remember, we went to kiſſe the young Prince of *Condies* hand, which then tolde vs was morgaged to her *creanciers* (creditors) for 25. thouſand Crownes, and now ſtands vnperfited.

The next houſe in ſtate, both for the beautie of the building, and deuice in the Gardens, is that of *Monſieur Gondy*, an Italian, whoſe father came into France with *Katherine de Medices*, and was here by her aduanced. There be other very many and very ſtately buildings, as that of *Monſ. Sanſuë*, *Monſ. de Monpenſier*, *de Neuers*, and infinite others, whereof eſpecially towardes the Eaſt end this towne is full, in ſo much as ye may ſay of the French Nobleſſe, as is elſewhere ſaid of the *Agrigentines*, *They build, as if they ſhould liue euer, and feede, as if they ſhould dye to morrow.* But among all theſe, there is none (ſayth this Author) that exceed more then the Lawyers, *Les gens de Iuſtice (et ſur tout les Treſoriers) ont augmente aux ſeigneurs l'ardeur de baſtir*: The Lawyers, and eſpecially the Officers of the Kings money, haue enflamed in the Nobilitie the deſire of building. La Noüe.

I haue heard a tale of a Preſident of Parliament,

whose friends comming on a time to see him at his new house, began exceedingly to commend it, as indeed it deserued, as well for the rareness of the workmanship, as the goodness of the Stone, Timber, Marble, and such like. No (quoth he) ye mistake the stuffe whereof it is made: this house is onely built, *de testes des fols*: of fooles heads. I thinke many of our newe buildings in England, are made of the same stuffe.

Ye must note, it is not yet one hundred yeeres since this stately kind of building (or I should rather say, beautifull; for still the most stately is the most ancient) came first in request. *La Noüe* sayth, *Il n'y a gueres plus de soixants ans que l'architecture a este restablie en France et au parauant on se logeoit asses grossierement*: It is not much more then threescore yeeres since Architecture was reestablished in France, and before that time, men were housed but homely. Hee there seemes to commend it, as a great grace to his Countrey: Marry, saith he, *Si on conte aussi combien telles magnificences ont enuoyé de gens au bissac, on dira que la marchandise est bien chere*: If we reckon withall how many such magnificence hath sent to the we may say, tis very deare marchãdize. I am for my part, of Frier *Iohn* of *Antomaure* his mind, who seeing in a great Palace such stately Halls, such goodly Galleries, such fayre Chambers, such well contriued Offices: and on the other side, the Kitchin so leane, the Chimneyes so cold, and the Cellars so dry, *Vn beau Chasteu dit il a faire de belles promenades, et me curez mes dens a ieun a la Napolitaine*: A faire Castle (said he) to walke faire turnes in, and picke my teeth fasting after the Neapolitane fashion.

La Noüe.

Rablais

The

The Vniuerſities, wherein in times paſt were wont to bee (by report) aboue thirty thouſand of all ſorts, are now by reaſon of the warres, reduced to a fourth part, and many of theſe children, ſuch as our petty ſchooles in the Countries are furniſhed withall. The ſtreets both in the City, Vniuerſity, and Suburbs, are very faire, ſtraight, and long very many of them; the ſhops thick, but nothing ſo full of wares, nor ſo rich as they of London, in compariſon whereof, theſe ſeeme rather Pedlers then otherwiſe: But for number, I ſuppoſe, there be three for two of thoſe.

The Faulxbourges are round about the City, ruined and vtterly deſolate, except thoſe of Sayne *Germaynes*, which was very fayrely builded, and was very neere as great as the faire Towne of *Cambridge*.

The benefit of this Towne is very great, which it hath by the Riuer, as by which all the Commodities of the Countrey are conueyed: Wherevpon *Monſieur d' Argenton* reports of it, *C'eſt la ville, que iamais ie veiſſe enuironeé de milleux païs et plantureux:* *Commin. C. 15.*

Of all the Townes that euer I ſawe, it is enuironed with the beſt and fertileſt Countrey:

And he there reports, that for twenty moneths that he was Priſoner, he ſaw ſuch an infinite company of Boates paſſe and repaſſe, as but that he was an eye-witneſſe, he would haue thought incredible, which he alſo after proues by the mayntenance of the three Armies of the three Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Guyenne*, and *Bretaigne*, which conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men, againſt the Cittie of *Paris*, wherein

they had beſieged *Lewes* the eleuenth, and yet neyther the Campe nor Towne had any want of victualls. *Faut bien dire qu'en ceſte Iſle de France, eſt bien aſſiſe cette ville de Paris, de pouuoir fournir deux ſi puiſſans hoſts: car iamais nous n'auions faute de viures, et dedans Paris à grand peine ſ'apperceuoient ils qu'il y euſt iamais bien enchery que le pain, ſeulement d'un denier:* It muſt needs be graunted, that this Towne of Paris is excellently ſeated in the Ile of France, to be able to furniſh two ſo great Armies: for we neuer wanted victuals; and they within Paris hardly found any thing the dearer, but onely bread, a denier vpon a loafe. The Sea floweth no neerer this City, then *Pont de Larche*, ſome 25. leagues off.

Comnin. li. 15.

Some ſay, this Towne was builded in the times of *Amaſias*, King of Iuda, by ſome reliques of the Troian warre, and that it was called *Lutece* (a Luto) becauſe the ſoyle in this place is very fatte, which is of ſuch nature, as ye cannot wel get it out, it doth ſo ſtaine: whereof they haue a By-word, *Il gaſte comme la fange de Paris:* It ſtayneth like the durt of Paris. Other ſay, it was called *Paris* of (*Parreſia*) a Greeke word, which ſignifieth (ſaith this Authour) *hardieſſe ou ferocite*, valour or fierceneſſe, alleadging this verſe,

Annales de France.

Idem.

Et ſe Parriſios dixerunt nomine Franci,
Quod ſonat audaces, &c.

Guil. Armoricanus

And the Franks called themſelues Parriſians, which ſignifieth valiant. And by this Etymologie would inferre, that the French is a warlike Nation. But he is much miſtaken in the word; for it ſignifieth onely a boldnes or liberty of ſpeach: which whether they better deſerue, or to be accounted valiant, you ſhall ſee, when I come to ſpeake of the Frenchmans humour and nature in generall. As for

the

the nature of the people of this Towne, their Hiſtories taxe it of infinite mutinies and Seditions, matchable to the two moſt rebellious Townes of Europe, *Liege* and *Gant*; and yet this laſt is prayſed in one thing, *Qu'à la perſonne de leur Prince ils ne touchent iamais*: That they neuer harme their Princes Perſon: Whereof the Barricades make *Paris* vnworthy. And *du Haillan* ſayth of them, whē they ſtood faſt to *Lewes* the eleuenth againſt the three Dukes abouenamed: *Iamais les Parriſiens ne tindrent vn bon parti, n'y ne firent rien qui vallut, que ceſte foiſ la*: The Parriſians neuer held good ſide, nor neuer ſhewed any honeſty but then onely. But I can reade no ſuch matter in *Commines*, for I well remember, that euen then diuers of the chiefe of the Towne had practized ſecretly with the enemy, and were vpon tearmes of concluding, when by the Kings wiſdome they were preuented. *Hail. li. 1.* *Hail. li. 3.*

The Armes of this City were giuen them, *Anno.* 1190. by *Philip le Bel*, who creating them a Preuoſt and Eſchenins (like Office as our Maior and Aldermen) *Leur donnoit les armoiries, de gueules a vne nauire d'argent, le chef d'azure ſemé de fleurs de lys d'or*: gaue them for Armes, Gules, a Ship Argent, and a Cheefe ſeeded with Flower de Lys Or. *Antiq. Par.*

Ye ſhall heare the French brag, that their City hath bene beſieged a hundred times by the enemy, and yet was neuer taken ſince *Cæſars* time. The reaſon whereof one of their beſt Writers giues, Becauſe (ſayth he) it is very weake, and therefore alwayes compoundeth. *Bodin. lib. 5.*

I compare *Paris* with *London*, thus: This is the greater, the fairer built, and the better ſcituate: ours is the richer, the more populous, the more ancient: For I

hold antiquitie to be a great honour as well to great ci-
Castles ties, as to great Families. Besides the Cities and Ports of France, well fortified, there be also infinite numbers of Castles and Cittadels (which the people alwaies call, *Nids de Tyrans*, the nests of Tyrants, and the Prince he
Idem. l. 6. calles them *Chastivillains*.) Of the Castels the number is therefore most great, and as vncertaine, by reason that euery Noble mans house of any age, is built in defensible maner, as you haue diuers times alreadie obserued. An example of one for many hundreds, ye may take that of *Roch-fort* belonging to the *Seigneur de la Tremouille*, which in these Ciuill wars endured a siege & 5000. Canon shot, & yet was not take. It is iudged by the wisest, that in great kingdomes, such as France, no places should be fortified but the frontiers: after the example of Nature, who armeth the heads and heeles of Beasts, but neuer the Bowels nor middle part. For indeede the strength of a Countrey consists not in walled townes, but in the vnited hearts of the people, as
Iunius Brutus. *Brutus* proueth in *Liuie*, and *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*: to
Tit. Liuius l. 1. which purpose the Poet also saith, Where there is con-
Dion. Hallicar. l. 5. cord among citizens, *Pulchrè munitam esse vrbem arbi-*
Plaut. *tror*: I thinke that Towne excellently fortified. But where discord reigneth, *centuplex murus vrbi non sufficit*: An hundreth fold wall is not sufficient. Whereof it commeth, that Histories report of the Tartarians, Aethiopians, and Arabians, that they haue no fortified places: and it is sayd of *Preste Iehan* the great king in Affricke, that he hath but one in all his Empire: and we in England, except frontier places, haue none but his Maiesties.

The reasons against them are these: It makes the inhabitants

inhabitants cowards: and therefore *Licurgus* forbad the walling and fortifying of *Lacedemon*. Secondly, leſt the enemy being entred, the Countrey ſhould ſtay and poſſeſſe himſelfe, of ſome of theſe places, whereas otherwiſe, he onely forrageth and harrieth the Countrey, and away againe. Therefore *Iohn Maria della Rouere*, Duke of *Vrbin*, raſed downe all his Caſtles (finding himſelfe too weake to reſiſt his enemie) and retired to *Venice*, aſſuring himſelf, that *Duke Valentionis* could not ſtay there long, where there was no place to be kept: which iudgement of his, the euent well prou'd. For this cauſe alſo, they of *Genoa*, after the battell of *Pauia*, where the French King was taken priſoner, hauing got the French Gariſon out of the *Lauterne*, ruined it to the very foundation. So did they of *Siracuſe* cauſe the Cittadell of *Arradine*, the only refuge of the tyrant *Dioniſius*. Laſtly, they giue occaſions to the poſſeſſors, to rebell and vſurpe, whereof, both all hiſtories, and among theſe our owne (where, if I be not miſtaken, in King *Stephens* time were raſed eleuen hundred Caſtles) and theſe fortie yeeres troubles in France do teſtifie.

Plutarch. in Licurg

Guicciard. l. 4.

Bodin. l. 5.

Plut. Timoleon.

There be ſome reaſons for the hauing of theſe fortified places, which I doe not conceiue ſo good as theſe, except onely I ſhould graunt them their Capitall Citie to bee fortified, and none elſe.

For *Bodin* thinkes it great madneſſe in a Prince, to ſuffer his people to haue ſtrong Townes, (eſpecially as here in France, where they will haue no Gariſon, but of their owne Citizens: the effect whereof was well ſeene in the loſſe of *Amiens*) except

Bodin. l. 6.

the King haue therein a Cittadell to bridle them. Against which, many Cities in this Countrey pretend Priuiledges, as that of *Amiens*, and some haue bought the Cittadell of the King, to the intent to demolish it, as they of *Lions*; such eye-sores they bee heere in France. In such a Countrey as Italy, where there bee diuers Princes, fortified Townes are more needfull, where notwithstanding ye shall note, that no great *Signore* is euer made Captayne of the Cittadell, nor hath any league with the Gouernour, whome they there call The *Podesta*, and therefore euery yere also these Offices are changed throughout the State of Venice, which at this day, is the most perfect Optimacy in the world; and the rather, because though the State be Aristocraticall, yet the execution of the Gouernment is mixt, Offices being conferred, both vpon the one sort and other of the Citizens, which makes that perfit harmony, whereof the diuine Philosopher so much speaketh.

Pla. de rep. lib. 4.

You must vnderstand, that heere in France, all Inhabitants of Cities, are lyable to the common charges of the fortification of their City, reparations of bridges, fountaines, highwayes, and such like. And because the richer sort should not leuy the money, and then keepe it to themselues, or employ as the list, they must giue information to the Chauncellor, of the necessity of the Leuy, and procure Letters Patents for the same, by authority whereof they gather the money, and vse it, yeelding after to the Kings Procureur their account.

Hail. li. 3.

And for their Watch and Ward, it goes by course, as in the Citie of *Embden*, and diuers other in those

Low

Low Countries. As for Castles, the *Seigneur*, or Captaine may not force Vassall (*faire leguet*, To watch and ward) except in frontier places, vpon forfayting of their estates. *Ordon. ch. 6.*

After this generall Suruey of the Countrey it selfe, we must obserue something of the Gouernment, wherein I will not trouble you, with fetching their first Pedegree from beyond the Moone, as many of their Histories labour, nor by disputing the matter, whether it bee true or no, that they came from *Troy*, into the Marishes of *Maotis*, whence, after some small abode, they were chased by the Romane Emperour, into *Bauaria*, and after into Frankland, in Germany. *Gouernment.* *Strabo.*

It shall suffice, that from hence, this people came into France, wherein all writers agree: For after the declination of the Romane Empire, when the *Ostrogothes* conquered Italy, the *Visigothes*, Spayne; and the *Vandalles* Affricke: then did the *Burgondiens*, and *Franconiens* diuide this Countrey betweene them, conquering it vpon the olde niquilines, the *Gaules*, who from *Cæsars* time, till then, had not tasted the force of a forrayne power. *Carion.* *Haill. li. 1 de l'estat.*

The Gouernement was vnder Dukes, till the yeere 420. when as *Pharamond* caused himselfe to be entituled King. In this race it remained till 751. when *Pepin* suppressed his M^r. *Chilpericke* and vsurped. His line lasted till 988. when *Hugh Capet* gaue the checke to the succession of *Charlemagnes* line (who was *Pepins* sonne) and inuested himselfe with the Diademe. From him it hath lineally descended by heires males to the house of *Valois*, and for want of issue male in them, is now come to the house of *Burbon*. In this space of time, you must

obſerue the three ages of France: Her child-hood, till *Pepin*: her manhood, till *Capet*: her olde age, till now. For in the firſt age, the Kings were like children, content to be taught by others in matters of Religion, (as then ye may note, that *Clouis* receiued the faith, and was baptized) as alſo in matter of policy, they were content that others ſhould beare the whole ſway, and rule them alſo, ſuch were the *Maieurs de Palais*, whereof *Pepin* was one that vſurped.

In their manhood they did like men, conquer kingdomes, relieue diſtreſſed Chriſtians, ouercome Saracenes & Infidels, defend the Church againſt all aſſayles, as ye may perceiue by the Hiſtory of *Charles* the great, and his ſucceſſors.

And laſtly now, in her old age ſhe grew wiſe, erected Courts for iuſtice, made lawes and ordinances, to gouerne her inhabitants, wherein no Countrey in Europe hath excelled her: for ſo ſayth my Author, *Il n'y a contrée au monde ou la iuſtice ſoit mieux eſtablie, qu'en la noſtre*: There is no Countrey in the world, where Iuſtice is better eſtabliſhed, then ours: which is true (but with this addition of a later writer,) *ſ'il my en auoit tant et trop: et ſ'ils eſtoient iuſtement exercez*: If the Officers thereof were not too too many, & if their places were rightly executed.

La Noue

Heill, l. 3.

This was the reaſon why many wiſe men of the world did imagine, that this Feuer of the league, which was entred at *Peronne*, ſome 20. yeres ſince, againſt France, would haue ſhakē the State, from a Monarchy, to an Ariſtocracy, conſidering, that in age nothing is more dangerous; and beſides, it was now her climacterical yere of Gouernmēt (for this is the 63. King) though

this

this be but a curious and ill grounded conceit, as also that other of the pourtreicts of the Kings, in the Palace at *Paris*, where, because all the voyde places be fulfilled, they would needes coniecture, forsooth, or rather conclude, that there should be no moe Kings. But this is but an idle dreame, and presuppositiō: for in the Cathedrall Church of *Sienna* in Italy, all the roomes for the *Popes*, are filled vp long ago, euer since the time of *Martin* the 5. and yet notwithstanding, that Sea of *Rome* stil hath a *Pope*. But *Du Haillan* saith, that as vertue was the cause that this State rose frō the ground of her base beginning, to this height; so Fortune hath beene the cause that she is not falne frō that high pitch, to her first lowneſſe: For he can see no reason of her standing, considering these ciuill warres, the difference of Religion, the ambition of houses, the conspiracies and reuoltes of the people, the true causes of falling: Therefore hee concludes, *La bonne Fortune nous a plus serui, que nostre vertu*: Good fortune hath helped vs, more then our owne vertue. But without so much talking of the good *Genius* and *bon-heur*, good hap of France, hee should haue ascribed the first cause to God, and the next to her Maiestie: but this French is euer a thankeleſſe people. *Haill. l. 8.* *Ibid.*

I must not force this Relation with many notes, of things here happening in former ages; it is both impertinent, and tedious, onely I would wish you note, that in 482. the Christian Faith was here receiued, and in the yeere 800. the Romane Empire hither translated.

Concerning the Countrey of France, the State is a Monarchy, the gouernement is mixt: for the authority

of *Maieurs, Eſcheuins, Conſuls, Iureurs, &c.* is Democraticall: the Paires, the Counſels, the Parliaments, the Chambers of Counts, the Generalities, &c. are Ariſtocraticall. The calling of aſſemblies, giuing of Offices, ſending Embaſſages, concluding of Treaties, pardoning of offences, ennobling of Fa nilies, legitimation of baſtards, coyning of moneys, and diuers other, to the number of 24. are meerely Regall, called of the French, *Droicts Royaux*.

Haillan. lib. 3.

And ſure it is, that no Prince in *Europe* is a more perfect Monarch then he: for beſides all theſe priuiledges named, as we ſay of the Parliament of *Paris*, that it hath the prerogatiue to bee appealed vnto, from all other Courts, which they call the (*Dernier reſſort*, the laſt appeale) ſo is it likewiſe true, that the King himſelfe hath the meere and abſolute authoritie ouer this. For though no Edict or Proclamation, no Warre or Peace which he makes, beegood, without the conſent and *Arreſt* as (they call it) of this Court: Yet true it is, that when he, ſending to them for their confirmation and ratifying thereof, if at firſt they refuſe, & ſend *Deleguez*, Deputies, to his Maieſtie to informe him of their reaſons, and humble ſute to reuoke the ſame, he returnes them vpon paine of his diſpleaſure and depriuation of their Offices, to confirme it. *Sic volo ſic iubeo*, Such is my pleaſure, and abſolute commandement.

Lawes.

As touching the *Lawes* of *France*, we muſt know, that moſt of thē are grounded on the Ciuil Law of the Emperor: but ſo, as this State euer proteſteth againſt thē, ſo far as they be good and equall: inſomuch as in former times it was ordeined, that he which alledged any Law of *Iuſtinian*, ſhould loſe his head. Of the Lawes here in force,

Haillan. lib. 4.

force, some are fundamentall, as they call them, and immortall, such as, nor King, nor assembly can abrogate: others are temporall, *Quemadmodum ex his legibus, quæ non in tempus sed perpetuæ vtilitatis causa in æternum latæ sunt, nullam abrogari fateor, nisi quam aut vsus coarguit, aut status aliquis reip. inutilem facit: Sic quas tempora aliqua desiderant leges, mortales (vt ita dicam) & ipsis temporibus mutabiles esse video*: I confesse, none of those Lawes which are not *Temporary*, but established as eternall for the vniuersall good, are euer abrogated (such onely excepted as either vse findes hurtfull, or some state of the Commonwealth makes vnprofitable) so I see, that those Lawes that are applied to particular times & occasions, are mortall (as I may call them) and change times with change. And therefore one saith, *Quæ in pace latæ sunt, plerumq; bellum abrogat, quæ in bello, pax: vt in nauis administratione, alia in secunda, alia in aduersa tempestate vsi sunt*: Warre commonly abolisheth Lawes made in peace: and peace Lawes made in Warre: Euen as Mariners in guiding a Ship vse one course in faire weather, another in foule.

Plato lib. 4 de leg.

L. Valerius

Of the first sort I will onely remember you of two examples: the Law Salique, and that of Appennages. As for the first, they would needes make the world beleeue that it is of great antiquitie, wherewith they very wrongfully tromped the heires of *Edward* the third, of their enioying this Crowne of *France*, which to them is rightly descended by his Mother, and whose claime is still good, were the English sword well whetted to cut the Labels of this Law. Of which *Haillan* himselfe confesseth, that before the time of *Philip le Long*, 1321. *Iamais auparauant on n'en auoit ouy parler, la faisant (en ce temps*

Haillan. lib. 3.

temps la) approuuer par tous les Seigneurs du royaume, les vns par promesser, les autres par force et par menaces: The Law Salique was neuer heard tell of before this Kings time, who caused it to bee ratified by all the Nobles of his Kingdome, some by faire promises, and others by force and threates. Hereupon they haue their prouerbe, *Le royaume de France ne peut tomber de Lance en quenouille.* The Kingdome of France cannot fall from the Lance to the Distaffe.

Some say, it is called Salique, of the *Saliens*, a people anciently inhabiting about the Ryuer of *Rheim*: but the likelyest is, that it comes of the two words, wherwith it begins (*Si aliqua*) and which are often repeated therein, as in many of our processes vpon some word therein vsed they take their names, as a *Scire facias*, a *Nisi prius*, a *Latitat*.

Touching that of Appennages, which is also a Law of great consequent for the Crowne (for by this the Domayne cannot bee aliened, and by the other, the Crowne cannot fall into the hands of strangers.) You must note, that this Law imports, that the yõger sonnes of the King cannot haue partage with the Elder, which till the time of *Charelemagne* (when this was made) they might, they must onely haue *Appennage sans propriete*. By which Charter of Appennage is giuen all profits arising of the said *Apannes*, as Domaine, the hundreth, rents, rights of *Seigneurie*, *parties casuelles*, *lots*, *sales*, *hommages*, *right of vassallage*, Forrests, ponds, ryuers, iurisdictions, patronages of Churches, prouisions, and nomination of Chappels, goods of Main-mort, fifts of Lands sold, and all other profites and commodities whatsoeuer, to returne to the Crowne, for want of heire

Chm. ord.

Hall. li. 3

heire male: But the leuying of taxes and aydes, the minting of money, and all other things of regality reserued. Some are so curious to deriue this word from the Greekes, of *Apan*, *totum*, and *Agnon*, *sanctum*: Because, forsooth, the French returning from the holy Land by Greece, saw there the like course vsed, which they brought home with them. Others say, it comes of *Pain*, bread, because it was for their sustenance: much like the Lawe of the olde Romanes, for the maintenance of their daughters, to whome they allowed a yeerely pension out of their lands. But others say, it is deriued from the Almaigne word (*Abannage*) which signifies a portion excluded from the rest, that, because they haue this particular allowance, they can make no claime to any other of the Princes states. This Appennage hath often beene so great, as it hath bred many inconueniences; as that of the Duchie of *Burgondie*, by *Charles* the fift, to his brother *Philip*, which did often after, much preiudice the Crowne of *France*. And that of the Duchie of *Normandie*, by *Lewes* the eleuenth, to his brother, which was after changed for *Guyenne*, and that againe for *Champagne*, and againe at last for *Berry*, whereabout were great troubles, for many yeeres in *France*, as by the Historie appeares. Oftentimes also the yonger brothers are content to take yeerely pensions, and quite their said Duchies or Counties holden in Appennage.

Plut. Nu. Pom.

Commines.

Concerning the other sort of Lawes, in this Realme they are infinite, which argueth (*a consequente*) that they be ill kept: for *gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*: and (*ab Antecedente*) that the people of this Countrey haue beene ill enclined: for *euill mouers cause good lawes.*

These French lawes are too full of preambles, processes, interims, and prouisoes, as by all their ordinances & edicts appeareth, *Nihil mihi frigidius videtur, quam lex cum prologo: iubeat lex, non suadeat*: There is nothing (me thinks) colder, then a Law with a Prologue. Let a Lawe commaund, and not perswade. Of all these Lawes I will onely name you this one, *Que la minorite du Roy soit assistee d' vn Conceil esleu par les Estats de France, auquel les Princes du sang doiuent tenir le premier lieu, et les estrangers esolus*: That the minoritie of the King shal be assisted with a Councel, chosen by the States of France, wherein the Princes of the blood ought to holde the first place, and strangers to be excluded: which was enacted at *Toures*, by *Charles* 8. anno. 1484. I tell you of this, as of the true source and spring of all these late ciuil warres, because the Cadets of Lorraine by insinuation with the young Kings, *Frances* the second, and *Charles* the ninth, vnder the fauour of the *Q. Mother*, tooke vpon them to manage all publike matters at their owne pleasure, and thrust out the first Princes of the bloud of the house of *Burbon*. Whereupon *Nauarre* and *Condie*, the Princes of this family, assisted by many of the Frēch Noblesse, embarqued themselues in the action of reforming such an abuse, and displacing the *Guysard* out of this authoritie, tooke it vpon themselues, to whome it rightly belonged.

Sen. Epist.

Dern. tromb.

Of these ciuill broyles, I meane by way of digression somewhat to speake, to giue you better taste thereof, as also to see in what miserable tearmes, this present King found the State, of whome, by order of this relation, I am next to remember: *La France a souffert sept guerres, et a veu six edicts de pacification, en leurs guerres ciuiles*: France,

A digression to the Ciuill Warres. Der. tromb.

in

in these ciuill broyles, hath suffred seuen warres, and seene sixe Edicts of Pacification. The first was in sixty three, at *Paris*: the second, in sixty seuen, at *Longemeau*: the third in seuenty, at *Paris*: the fourth in seuenty sixe, at *Ienuile* (when first began the League at *Peronne*:) the fift, at *Poictiers* in seuenty seuen: the sixt in eighty one. Not one of these Proclamations which was not broke, & new flames of warre kindled; the imputation whereof, the French Writers lay most vpon the *Q. Mother*; by whom she is compared to *Fredegunde* & *Brunhalt*, two damnable Queenes of France, and the Firebrands of their time. *Hall. 1.*

She came from the Family of the *Medices* in *Florence*, in which City ye may note, that in three seuerall yeres (but not much distant) were borne three seuerall Monsters: *Alexander Medices*, that spoyled *Florence* of her liberty, the faireſt City in Italy: This woman, that ruined France, the faireſt Kingdome of Europe: And *Machiauell*, that poysoned Europe, the fayreſt part of the world.

She bare too great loue to her old friends of *Lorraine*, and too little to her young sonnes of *Valois*: her hate was too hote to the reformed Religió, and her care too cold to reforme the State: She had too much wit for a woman, and too little honesty for a Queene: for where one is without the other, a little is too much.

Next her, are charged, the *Cadets* of Lorraine, in three ages, the Grandfather, the father & child, and al of their houses: for he that will rightly compare the times, shall find, that the drift of the Count S. *Paul* in *Lewes* the 11. time, was al one with this of the *Guises* in these late troubles; namely, for that the warres only maintayned them *Comminet*

in their greatneſſe, and forced the King to ſtand in need of them, whereas the peace might be much preiudiciall to them, and bring them to their accounts, for many matters ill carried in their charges. Hereupon the *Count* ſet on his King, to enbarke himſelfe in a warre, againſt ſo great an enemy, as the Duke of *Burgogne*: and theſe euen forced their Maſter, to war vpon his owne Subiects, againſt ſo good a cauſe as true Religion. And as he deſired nothing leſſe, then that the Duke ſhould condeſcend to his Maieſtie, and ſo make a peace: ſo did theſe only wiſh, that they of the Religion might ſtill ſtand ſtiffe in their profeſſion. Likely alſo it is, that at the firſt, they did not ſo much as dreame of obtayning the Crowne, as hauing foure Princes, of the houſe of *Valois*, al yong, beſides the houſe of *Burbon*, ſtanding in their way: But when theſe, one after another, died, and the times grew ſo fauourable, through their popular carriage (the onely ſigne of an ambitious mind) as that all the eyes of France were bent vpō them, then they rayſed their thoughts, as high, as the higheſt place, and the rather, becauſe the Religion of the next Prince of the bloud (who ſhould bee ſerued before them) was ſo contrary to the general liking of the French State. Their only cauſe, they ſaid, was Religion: but true it is, that *Haillan* ſaith, that Religion is only the cloke and pretext, *ſelon les eſprits des païs, ou ſelon les menees et practiques des grands, qui donnent cette opinion aux peuples*: Accoording to the humors of the country, or the driftes and practiſes of the *Grandies*, who poſſeſſe the people with that opinion.

Haill. I.

And in another place, *Diuiſions ſont comme fatales à la France, et entre les cauſes qui l'ont trouble toutes les fois qu'il à eſté la diuiſion de grands, a eſté la premiere et la princi-*

principale et touſiours couuerte du nom du bien publique, et de la Religion: Diuiſions haue beene (as it were) fatall to France, and of all the cauſes of her trouble at any time, the diuiſion among the *Grandies* hath euer beene the firſt and principall, and alwayes cloaked with the name of the publike good and Religion.

The onely patterne and Mirrour, whome the laſt Duke of *Guiſe* folowed in theſe his dangerous deſeignes for the obtaining of the Crowne, was *Pepin*, who to depoſe his Maſter, and to preferre himſelfe, found no way more compendious, then to profeſſe himſelfe the Protectour of the Church, and Rooter out of hereſies. For which good ſeruice, the *Romiſh Church* inueſted him with the Crowne of *France*, and hee gaue them many Territories in *Italy*; both, large caruers of that which was not their owne. But the vſurpation was moſt vniuſt, as alſo the attempt it ſelfe, howſoeuer they ſhadow it with the colour of Religion. For *Nulla iuſta cauſa videri poteſt, contra Remp. arma capiendi*: No cauſe of taking armes againſt the State can ſeeme truely iuſt. *Annal. Fran.* *Plut. Cori.*

It is a pitifull ſpectacle, to ſee a happie State brought to ruine by the diuiſion of her great ones: but when it is wrought by ſuch of the Nobilitie as are newly infranchiſed, and ennobled with all preferments, who were but lately ſtrangers, it is much more lamentable and alſo inſupportable. The three great States of *England*, *Spaine*, and *France*, can inſtance herein, and giue you examples of *Piers Ganeſtone*, *Aluaro de Luna*, and this houſe of *Lorraine*. Theſe are they, of whom all the late writers complaine. *Les François eſtoient lois* (ſpeaking of former times) *vrays François, n'auoyent point ſucé le laict de Lorraine, qui donne les humeurs de toutes les ſortes de Trahiſons*: *Hollinſhed* *Turquet* *Hiſto. de Spag.* *Haill. 1.*

The French were then true French, they had not yet ſucked the milke of *Lorrayne*, which breedes humors fit for all ſorts of treaſons.

And as it is ſayd of *Lalain* a gallant Gentleman in *Commines.* *Commines* his time, *Eſtoit d'une race, dont peu ſ'en eſt trouue, qui n'ayent eſté vaillans, & quaſi touts morts en ſeruant leurs Seigneurs en la guerre:* He was of a race, whereof few can be found that haue not bene valiant, and almoſt all of them ſlaine in the warres in their Princes ſeruice.

So may we ſay of theſe, that it hath bin a valiant race, and moſt of them haue dyed in the warres, but with this difference, that it hath ſtill beene againſt the good of their Countrey, howſoeuer they couered their treaſons with the vaile of *bien publique*: publique good: as *Idem. cap.* 20. one ſaith of the Duke of Guyenne and Bretagne, *Mais en fin le bien publique eſtoit conuerti en bien particulier*: But in the end, the publique good was turned to priuate profit.

The chiefeſt ſupporter of theſe Guiſards, and that ſtill gaue oyle to the fire of this rebellion, was the King of Spaine, who, (the compariſon of the State of France with the game of Primero ſaith) that he ſtood by and looked on, following that Machiauellian maxime, or leſſon, which he had learned of the other *Philippe* of Macedon, to ſuffer them to ruyne one another, as did the Cities of Greece, and then himſelfe to take the aduantage, and winne all; for it is no queſtion if Guiſe had wonne the game, but this would haue had the reſt. He had this aduantage alſo, while they were together by the eares, to be in quiet himſelfe: for ſo ſaith *Du Fay.* the principle in the Mathematickes, *Ce qui faict mouuoir altruy, eſt neceſſairement touſiours en repos*: That which giues

giues motion to other things, muſt needes it ſelfe be in reſt.

The third cauſe I impute (eſpecially of the later troubles) to the timorous nature and puſillanimity of Henry the 3. *Ce qui donne volunté et moyens aux hommes de grands Eſprits de conſpirer contre leurs princes, et d'attenter à l'vſurpation de la coronne, eſt l'imbecillité et la neantiſe d'iceux Princes*: That which giues both will and meanes to men of great Spirits, to conſpire againſt their Princes, & attempt the vſurping of their Crowns, is the weakeneſſe and worthleſſeneſſe of the Princes themſelues. Haill. 1.

For in his time, the Crowne of France was like the daughter and heire of Burgogne: and the poore King, like the crafty Duke, made euery wooer and ſuter that ſhe had, beleeue that he ſhould ſpeede: the King, for feare leſt by theſe corriuals hee ſhould be brought lower; the Duke, in hope by intertaining them all, to haue their aydes to raiſe himſelfe higher. Marry, neither of them would gladly, while they liued, that this faire daughter ſhould be married. Commines

It is a dangerous thing in a State, when the King dare not puniſh the ambitious deſſeignes of his Subiect: *Voyla le mal-heur d'vn ſiecle miſerable & iniuſte, de cognoiſtre l'iniuſtice & ne l'oſer dire; n'y en faire la punition: voila comment les Princes ſouuent cognoiſſent le mal & iugeant au contraire, donnent l'abſolution, eſtans à cela contraincts par le temps: aux quells le plus ſouuent par leur iniuſtice ils donnent cette licence, & apres en reçoyuent les premiers, le mal*: Behold the miſchiefe of a miſerable and vniuſt time; to diſcerne the offence, and not to dare take notice thereof, nor puniſh it. Behold how Princes doe often knowe the miſchiefe, yet giuing ſentence Haill. 3.

quite otherwiſe, (being enforced by the neceſſity of the time) abſolue them, whom they themſelues firſt emboldened by their owne vniuſt proceedings, and are after, the firſt to ſmart for it.

This emboldened the *Guiſe* to driue his King out of *Paris*, whence (they ſay) to ſaue his life, he fled in his doublet and hoſe, and one boote off for haſte: ſo that now was verified the propheſie of Fran. 1.

Poet. Fran.

Le Roy François ne faillit point,
Quand il predit que ceux de Guiſe
Mettroyent ſes Enfans en purpoint,
Et ſon pauure peuple en chemiſe:
King *Francis* prophecide aright,
That Guizes race would ſtrip his race
Into their hoſe and doublet light,
And's people to their ſhirts vncaſe.

In this attempt he ſo farre engaged himſelfe, and ſo irreconcileably incurred the kings hate, as he muſt either be *Roy ou ruyné, Cæſar aut nullus, Corona aut Cadauer.* Wherein he was much miſtaken, to thinke againe to winne his good opinion, and by this meanes to expect a better houre. A man muſt neuer truſt a reconciled enemy, eſpecially his King, againſt whom when yee drawe the ſword, ye muſt throw the ſcabberd into the riuer. He felt the ſmart of this, not long after at *Bloies*, where, in the aſſembly, like *Cæſar* in the Senate, he was diſpatched. In *Solons* time there were firſt the *Cilonians* & the *Banditi*, and after one of theſe was extinct, there aroſe a diuiſion of three heads: they of the plaines would haue an Optimacy; they of the mountaines, a Democracy, and they of the ſeacoaſt, a mixt State. So in the Duke of *Guiſes* time, there was a diuiſion of Catholikes and Proteſtants: but after his death, the

Du Fay.

Plut. Solon

monſter

monster grew to haue foure heads. The *Royaux*: the *Huguenots*: the *Ligueurs*: the *Confrers du petit Cordon*: these last were a fraternity, who had cõspired to bring in the Spaniard, their chiefe head were the *Seize of Paris*, (A Councell of 16. the most seditious Burgers of the Towne) who strangled M. *Brisson* a President of the Parliament, the rarest man of his time, and two other Lawyers, the one an Aduocate, the other a Procuror: of these the Duke *de Mayenne* hanged foure for their labour. Ech of these had diuerse driftes: The *Royaux* were for the King, and then for the extirpation of the Religion. The *Huguenots* were likewise for the King, and then for the libertie of their conscience. The *Leaguers*, for the ruine of the King, and house of *Burbon*, and then for the reducing of the land to an Aristocracy, which they meant to share among themselues: The *Confrerie* were against the King, for his title; against the Protestants, for their Religion; against the *Leaguers*, for their partage: and like Traitours falsly hearted, or Frenchmen truly Spaniolized, complotted only how to bring in their Patron & Benefactor the King of Spaine. See here the many-headed Hidra that rauaged al ouer France. See here that France, where neither her King could saue his life frõ the impoisoned knife of a bloudy harted Frier, nor the people their goods, frõ the pillage of a bloudy hãded Soldier. See here the times, when the 3. fayre daughters of *Themis*; *Eunomia*, *Epieikia*, and *Eirene*; Law, Equity, and Peace, are banished their native Country. See here a Country in an extacie, distracted in her selfe, and transported out of her selfe, ready to fall into a falling sickenesse, like the soule of a distempred man, where neyther *Nous*, the King, is obeyed; *Bodin. l. 6.*

nor *Logos*, the Law, obserued; nor *Epithumia*, the people, gouerned, by reason that *Thumos*, which possesseth the heart (& therefore I interpret the *Gensilarmes* of *France*) through an ambitious thought to rule, or a deuillish desire to reuenge, hath robd the one of his authority, the other of her force, and giuen the third the reynes of Liberty to doe what they list. *Mon Dieu gens sans discourse: O gens aueugle: Nation sans conseil et sans prudence!* O people voyde of iudgement: O blinded people: O Nation without Counsell, and without wisedome! See here a people, among whom it was a slander to doe well, and glorie to excell others in cruelty: therefore saith a Poet of theirs,

Hisp. cuius dam Oratio paran.

Si les mauuais Francois sont bien recompensez,
Si les plus gens de bien sont le moyns aduancez:
Soyons vn peu meschant, on guerdonne l'offence,
Qui n'a point faict de mal, n'a point de recompence.

If the worst Frenchmen now are best of all rewarded,
If the most honest men are now the least regarded:
Let's turne Traytors awhile, this time rewards offices:
Who hath no mischief wrought, can get no recõpẽces.

See here a Tragedy, where were no lookers on, but all Actors, where, for the most part, the poorer sort were plagued: *Delirant Reges, plectuntur Achiui:*

Horat.

For dotages of Kings
The people alwayes wrings.

As for the great ones, they had a course many of thẽ to saue their owne stakes, and get also by the bargaine. Sayth another,

Pour estre bien venuz et faire nos affaires,
en ce temps fascheux plein d'horribles miseres:

Agnoste

Agnoſte mon amy, ſçais tu que nous ſerons?
Surprenons quelque place, et puis nous traitterons:
If we will thriue, and riſe, and be much made of too,
In this moſt wretched Age, and this confuſed State,
(*Agnoſtus* my deer frend) know'ſt thou what we muſt
Let vs ſurprize ſome Towne, & then capitulate. (do?

As yee haue heard of *Monſr. de la Chaſtre*, an Arch-Leaguer, who would not make his peace, nor render his Townes to the King, except hee might haue the Gouernment of *Orleans*, and fifteene thouſand crownes, which hee preſently enioyeth. Like capitulations were made with other of that faction. *Phœbidas*, Generall of the *Spartane* forces, ſurpriſed vpon the *Thebanes* the Caſtle of *Cadmus*, without Commiſsion from the State: which Caſtle the *Lacedemonians* would not render, but fortified the place, and kept there a ſtrong Garriſon: and yet they diſcharged the Generall of his Office for this onely fact, and fined him at ten thouſand crownes: a ſtrange courſe, to puniſh good ſeruice: but this of *France* more ſtrãge, to reward ill ſeruice. It is, I confeſſe, good policie to condemne the Traytor, and yet loue the Treaſon: but to condemne the Treaſon, and reward the Traytor, I neuer but here heard of. But ſuch was the neceſsitie of the times: *Sic fuit in fatis*, So did the Fates ordeine. But theſe gayners were thoſe that betted by; for the chiefe Gameſters had their heeles blowne vp: the Duke of *Guiſe* ſlabbed at *Blois*; the Cardinall ſtrangled in the Caſtle: the Duke of *Parma*, poyſoned at *Arras*: the Duke *Ioyenſe*, ſlayne at *Contras*: the Duke *de Mayenne* ruyned at *Iuery*: the Duke *de Mercœure*, come in this March, who

Plut. Polo.

lately marched afore his troupes in Bretaigne, *a capaso*, with an erected countenance, now walketh vp and
Plut. Cor. downe *Paris*, like *Dionisius* in *Corinth*, *Capochino*, hanging the head. This was iust such an *Hexarchie*, as *Charles* Duke of *Burgogne* wished in France, who, had hee liued till now, had seene what hee wished. When *Mons. Durfé* charged him, that he loued not France, but sought by all meanes possible to disturbe the State thereof: Tush, sir, saith he, you are deceiued, *I' ayme*
Comminet. *mieux le bien du royaume que vous ne pensez, car pour vn roy qu' il y a ie y en voudroy six*: I wish better to the Kingdom then you imagine, for one King that there is nowe, I would there were halfe a dozen. All these, forsooth, agreed, that the Common-wealth was sicke and out of temper, & ech one pretended with his Phisicke to cure her. The D. of *Guise*, to ease the paine which was at the hart, ment (as he doth, that giues the best remedy for the tooth-ake, to pull them all out) to strike off the head: To which purpose, at the Barucadoes of *Paris*, hee had the King fast in the Castle of the *Louure*, but yet most vnwisely, hauing the bird in the cage, let him flye away.

The *Cardinall*, that should by his calling haue ministred the most gentle and lenitiue kind of Phisicke, and if it had beene possible, haue cured France with good counsell, & prescribing a good diet, ministred nothing, but corrasiues, and bitter pilles of disdaine among the Nobles.

The Duke of *Parma*, like a Doctor of good practise, brings with him a whole shop ful of Phisicke, inough to purge all France, hee applieth his receipt of the Low-Countrey Souldiers, to ease her of her malady: but the weake stomacke of this Countrey could not brooke so

strong

strong an *ingredient*, and therefore shee vomited them out againe, before they had done the deed. The Duke *Ioyeuse* like a desperate young Doctor, that would get credit in his trade, vpon his first patient, by putting all to the hazard, without vsing any preparatiues, or obseruation of criticke dayes, giues the potion, before *Monsieur Matignon* could come at him, who came with other good phisicke to assist him in this practise: but at that time, they say, that *Mars*, a malevolent Planet, was retrograde in *Aries*, or entring into *Taurus*: and so it should seeme: for one of the King of *Nauarres* troupes, called *Monsr. Taurin* (as they say) gaue him a Pistolade in the head. *Ioyeuse* was not so precipitate, to breake the Impostume before it was ripe, but the Duke *de Mayenne* was as much a dreamer to forslow the occasion: for whē his brother *Guise* was stabbed, and all the great Cities reuolted to him (loe, then was she sicke at the hart) he should then haue plyed, to haue applyed his medicines: but then had he his Phisicke to seeke: And after, when the party was pretily recouered, & began to refuse Phisick, (hauing a little relished the wholesome diet of good counsell) then comes he in such haste, that hee brake his bottels by the way, and so was a loser by the bargayne.

As for *Monsieur de Mercaure*, hee playd the good Kitchin Doctor, of whome *Rablais* speaketh, who gaue his patient the necke and bones to tyre vpon, and kept the wings himselfe: for he left them all France, tyred and tewed, as bare as a birdes bone, and kept Bretaigne, one of the fattest wings of the Countrey, to himselfe, purposing to haue entituled himselfe Duke thereof. But these were all pretended Phisicians: the poore King *Henry* the third ment wel indeed, *Rabl. l. 3.*

but wanted skill, who found by experience, after hee had slaine the *Guise*, and left the rest of his house (that were then in action) how dangerous a thing it is, in matter of execution to doe it to the halfe, and that in ministring phisicke, a violent potion is not so dangerous, as one that is too weake, which onely stirreth the humors, and is not able to expell them. Among so many Phisicians, we must needes haue one woman to looke to the patient: this was the *Queene Mother*, of whom and her Sonne *Charles* 9. that consented to the Massacre of *Paris*, we may say with the Poet:

Vergil. Eglog.

Crudelis mater magis an puer improbus ille?
Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater:

Which hath poore *France* more ruinde and vndone,
The cruell Mother, or her wicked Sonne?
A wicked Sonne was he,
A cruell Mother she.

This Queene, who, with the two other Queenes, with whom she is before compared, may be called the *Alecto*, *Tesiphone*, and *Megera*, the three Furies of France, in stead of being a Nurse, and cherisher of her Infants and family, which shee should haue bene by all law of reason, became a Stepdame, as shee was by nature, being an Italian: Who for more (as it is thought) then honest loue to the Guisard Doctors, desired still to haue her people kept lowe and sickely, that they might be aduanced by their practise. These were they that left France in such pitifull taking, vnder a false pretext of reformation of the State; as we might well say of it, as is said of the abandoned French *Constable* in *Lewes* 11. his time, *Il ne sçauoit à quel Saint se vouer, se tenoit comme pour perdu*: He knew not to what

Commines

Saint

Saint to vow himselfe, but held himselfe for a lost man: or as their prouerbe is here, *Il ne sçauoit de quel bois faire ses flesches*: He knewe not of what wood to make his arrowes.

But leauing *France* for a while, in this grieuous sicknesse (till the *Hercules* that now reignes, conquered this monstrous *Hidra*, and like a skilfull *Esculapius*, recouered her of this pestilent feuer) ye may obserue this one *Epiphonema* heere necessarily imployed, namely, That *Diuision in an Estate, is the most compendious way to her downefall*: *Discordia res magna dilabuntur*: By discord great matters melt away to nothing: as hath well appeared by this great State of *France*.

Here is also a good lesson for other to beware by:

Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet: *Horat.*

The burning of your neighbours Towers
Concernes you neere, next turne is yours.

And as *Rablaies* saith, *Vn fol enseigne bien vn sage*: *Rabl.* A foole may teach a wise man wit. And if you would haue yet more instances of the miserable effects of Factions, read *Guicciardine*, and you shall bee plentifully furnished: as with the *Colonni*, and *Vrsini* in Rome; the *Bianchi* and *Neri* in Florence; the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* in Genoa: and so almost through euery particular Citie: and in generall ouer all Italy, the *Guelphi* and *Ghibellini*. *Guicciard. lib. 4.* *Machiauel hist. flor.*

Here was also one here in *France*, about no greater cause then a matter of loue, betweene *Orleans*, and *Burgogne*. And we had one in *England*, about no smaller a matter then the Crowne (*impatientes consortis erant, maiestas & amor*:) *Comminet*

Both Maiestie and loue,
Do no Corriuals loue.

Betweene the houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, wherein *Commines* ſayth, were betweene three and foureſcore of the bloud ſlayne. How true that is, I remember not, but as I take it, there were fought ten battels betweene them, one hundred Barons & Knights ſlayne, ten Princes, Dukes and Earles, and an hundred thouſand naturall Engliſh.

Holinſhed.

Virgil. *Animus meminiſſe horret:*
My mind doth tremble yet
But to remember it.

That diuiſion was the onely cauſe, why we not onely loſt all we had in France, but alſo the meanes to recouer all which wee ought to haue had: for in thoſe times France her ſelfe alſo was miſerably diſtracted, & brought to ſo lowe an ebbe, as one ſayth, *Dieu fit ce bien en ce temps-la, que les gueres & diuiſions d'Angleterre eſtoyent encores en nature les vns contre les autres*: So may they now thanke God and our late Queene, *The Nurſe of Peace, and refuge of the afflicted*, who (as is ſayd of the great Earle of *Warwicke*, That he thought it as great an honour to make a King, as to be a King) to cancell with the Speares poynt the forged law of the *Saliens*, tooke not ſuch oportunity, but rayſed the afflicted lowneſſe of the deſolate King of *Diepe*, to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the great Realme of France.

Commines Cap. 27.

But it is a thing euer obſerued in great States and Kingdomes, that they neuer riſe to any greatneſſe, except in their riſing they meet with many lets, and are ſometimes euen brought to ſuch lowe tearmes, as they are thought paſt all hope; as *Athens*, by the *Perſians*; and *Rome* by the *Gaules*: the like is to be ſaid of great Princes; as of *Edward* the fourth of England,

land, and this *Henry* the fourth of France, of whome wee may truely report, as *Plutarch* doeth of *Camillus*, *Si Camillus n'eust esté perdu, Rome ne se fust pas retrouuée*: If *Camillus* had not bene loſt, *Rome* had not bene found againe. *Poſsidonius* calles *Marcellus* the (ſword) and *Fabius* the (buckler) of *Rome*; but we may call this King both the one and the other to *France*; to one, to cut off all diſturbers of the State; the other, to defend his Subiects in the libertie of their conſcience, and enioying of peace. This office he now executes in his quiet reigne; that other he vſed in time of the ciuill warres, when as alwayes they of the Kings part ſent for his aide to the ſuppreſſion of the Leaguers, though after that done, they cared not for him. So ſaith *Plutarch* of *Themiſtocles*, *Les Atheniens n'y honoroyent, n'y ne l'eſtimoyent point en temps de paix, mais quand il leur ſurueneoit quelque orage de guerre, & qu'ils ſe vnyoient en danger, ils recouroyent à luy: ne plus ne moins qu'on fait à l'ombre d'vn Platane, quand il ſuruient vne ſoudaine pluye, & puis apres quand le beau temps eſt venu, on l'esbranche & luy coupe l'on ſes rameaux*: The *Athenians* neither honoured, not eſteemed him in time of peace: but when they were ouertaken with any ſtorme of warre, and that they ſawe themſelues in danger, then they had recourſe to him; as men vſe to runne in a ſuddaine ſhower to the ſhelter of a Plane tree, and as ſoone as it is faire weather againe, they breake and cutte off his branches.

Plut. Cam.

The King.

Plu. Them.

This King then, of whom now by courſe I am to relate, is about 48. yeeres of age, his ſtature ſmall, his haire almoſt all white, or rather griſled, his colour freſh and youthfull, his nature ſtirring and full of life,

like a true French man. One of his owne people de-

Du Fay. scribeth him thus, *De ſon naturel il eſt ſi extremement vif et actif qu' à quoy qu' il ſ' adonne, il ſ' y met tout entier ne faiſant iamais gueres qu' vne ſeule choſe à la fois. Deiendre vne longue deliberation auec vn faict preſſé cela luy eſt malaiſé. Le faire et le deliberer ſe rencontrent en meſme temps. Mais aux conſeils qui ont traict de temps à la verité, il a beſoigne d' eſtre ſoulage. Vne promptitude admirable d' eſprit. Aux affaires de la Iuſtice, des finances, aux negotiations eſtrangeres, aux depeſches, à la policie d' eſtat il croit les autres, il ne ſ' en meſle point:* He is of ſuch an extremely liuely, and actiue diſpoſition, that to whatſoeuer he applyes himſelfe, to that hee entirely employes all his powers, ſeldome doing aboue one thing at once. To ioyne a tedious deliberation with an earneſt and preſsing affayre, he cannot endure: Hee executes and deliberates both together. But in Councels that require tract of time, to ſay the truth, hee hath neede of helpe. He hath an admirable ſharpneſſe of wit. In affayres of Iuſtice, of his Reuenues, forrayne Negotiations, Diſpatches, and gouernment of the State, hee credites others, and meddles little himſelfe.

He ſayth there farther, that though by his Phiſiognomy, his faſhion & maner of behauiour, ye would iudge him leger and inconſtant, yet is no man more firmely conſtant then he. He confeſſeth it were hard for him, not to be ſparing, conſidering the profuſe and lauiſh ſpoyle that his predeceſſor made before him: yet to ſalue the matter, he makes this difference, *That the other gaue much to few, this giues a little to many.* If you remember when we ſaw him play at dice, here in *Orleans*, with his Nobleſſe, he would euer tell his money very preciſely, before he gaue it backe againe.

I will

I will not ſpare in this diſcourſe (which is onely for your ſelfe priuate) to ſpeake the trueth, though of a King: we are here in a Country, where ye daily heare his owne Subiects ſpeake of him more liberally.

And beſides, his Maieſtie hath generally this commendation, which is very laudable in a Prince, he can endure that any man ſhould tell him the truth, though of himſelfe. Which I will interpret to wiſedome, though perhaps ſome will impute it to a facility of nature. Concerning this thriftie vertue then of ſparing, we muſt note that he is a very good meſnager. *Il fait d'argent auec ſes dens*: He makes money with his teeth, ſaith the Frenchman, meaning his ſparing of great and ſuperfluous expence at his table. And for his giftes, wee may call him by an *Antiphraſis*, as *Plutarch* ſayth they vſed to call *Antigonus* in ſcorne (*doſon*) that is, *qui donnera: pour ce qu'il promettoit touſiours & iamais ne donoit*: One that will giue: becauſe he alwayes promiſed, but neuer performed. *Plut. Pau. Aemil.*

For my part, I thinke he giues S. P. Q. R. not *Senatui populoq; Romano*: that is, to all ſorts of people: but *Si Peu Que Rien*, ſo little, as ſcarſe any at all. They ſay, that the chamber of Accounts, is to examine the Kings gifts: and if they find any vnmeaſurable, to ſhorten them: to which purpoſe, there is written in great letters in the ſame court, *Trop donné ſoit repeté*: Let gifts too great be reuoked. It ſhould ſeeme hee ſaues them this labour. Such a parſimonious ſparer was *Lewes* 11. of whom in the ſaid chamber of Accounts (as *Bodin* ſaith) it is recorded, that he wore a greazy hatte, and clothes of the courſeſt ſtuffe; and there likewiſe yee ſhall find a reckoning of 20. *ſols* that is, *ii. s.* ſterling, for *Bod. li. 6.*

a new payre of sleeues to his olde dublet: an another of 15. *deniers*, that is, three halfe-pence, for grease to liquor his bootes. This was he, that made his Taylor his Herald of Armes, his Barber his Ambassador, and his Surgeon his Chancellor, of whome *Commines* reporteth many vertues, & as many faults, and yet it should seeme, that *Commines* his seruant would not tell all; for so sayth another of the French Historians, discoursing impartially of this *Lewes*, *Nous auons librement dit ce que Commines n' a ose et volu dire, et ce que les autres n' ont sceu*: We haue freely spoken what *Commines* durst not, nor would not speake, and what others knew not. Though he himselfe protesteth, that he left none of his trumperies, and double dealings, vnreuealed, *Non pour en vser mais pour en garder*: Not to practise, but to preuent the: As we desire to know the poyson, in the Apothecaries shop, from his other good drugges, not to vse, to the hurt of others, but to shunne, for the safety of our selues.

Commines

Haill.

And howsoeuer *Haillan* taxe him of impartialitie, true it is, that the *Q. Mother* did not like him, of all others: For (said she) *hee hath made as many Heretikes in Policy, as euer Luther made in Religion, by discouering the secrets of State*: Which should be kept as secret, as the Caball of the *Iewes*, or verses of the *Druides*. But neither the sparing of this Prince, that now raigneth (of whose vertues I will presently speake) nor the faults of *Lewes* the 11. make them the onely two Kings of this Realme, taxable aboue the rest: For one of their writers sayth in general, that France hath fatally beene subiect to this, *malheur* (desaster) to haue Kings, *imbecilles et estroppiez de l' entendement*, (weake and lame in iudgement.) He reckoneth vp many, as *Charles* the great, a *paillard* (a wencher:)

Q. Mother of Commi.

Haill. l. 2.

Pepin

Pepin a vſurper, *Lewes* the firſt *laſche et mol*, (faint-harted, and effeminate) and after theſe three other *Charleſes*, the *balde*, the *groſſe*, & the *ſimple*, which no doubt, if they had deſerued better Epithites, ſhould haue had them: Inſomuch as one concludeth of the good Kings of France, as *Suetonius* did of the Princes of his time, *Se pourroyent bien tous graver en vn anneau*; they might al be grauen in one ring. But I had rather conclude with *Bodin*, *There is no Prince without his fault*. Howbeit thoſe few that are in this Prince, are recompenced with many very heroicall and princely vertues, both of body & mind. For thoſe of the mind, let me only cõmend the excellency of wit, and ſuddenneſſe of anſwere, whereof wee may take acknowledgemẽt in theſe three, which I wil here recount, anſwerable in my opiniõ, to any of thoſe Apophthegms of the olde Kings, or Philoſophers, which hiſtory hath commẽded to vs. At his being here at *Orleans*, this Iune laſt paſt, the Maior and Burgeſes of the Towne came to his Maieſtie, to deſire they might bee eaſed of certayne extraordinary taxes and impoſitions, wherewith in the time of the league, they had been burdened by *Monſ. de la Chaſtre*, their Gouernour. Saith he, *M. de la Chaſtre vous a liguez, qu' il vous deſligue*: M. *de la Chaſtre* hath tide you, let him vntye you. At his being at the ſiege of *Amiens*, amongſt others of the Nobleſſe, which he ſummoned to that ſeruice, he ſent alſo for the *Count Soiſſons*, a Prince of the bloud, & one of the rareſt Gentlemen of France, to whom the King giues (as is ſaid) 5000. Crowns penſiõ. The *Count*, at that time diſcontented, returned the King anſwere, that he was a poore Gent. & wanted meanes to come to that ſeruice, as became one of his birth & place, being a Prince of the bloud, & Peere of France: he therfore moſt humbly craued pardon, and that hee would

Suetonius.

Bod. l. 6.

pray for his Maiesties prosperous successe, which was all he could doe. Well, saith the King, *Dautant que les prieres ne seruent point sans ieusne, il faut qu' il ieusne de la pension de ses 5000. escus:* Seeing prayer is not acceptable without fasting, my couzin shall hereafter fast from his pension of fiue thousand Crownes.

After the death of the Duke of *Guise*, when almost all France had reuolted from the late King, & like a poore (*Roy d' Iuidot*) as the French prouerbe is, he was chased of them of the League, from all places of France, to *Toures*, and was there, as it were besieged of *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*: After that this King present came thither with his small forces, to the distressed Kings succour, the King of France, whose name was also *Henry*, would needes perswade *Henry* King of *Nauarre*, with those small forces, which they both had, to march out of the Towne, and encounter the Dukes forces, who were double the number. *Sirs* (saith hee) *ne hazardons point vn double Henry contre vn Carolus:* Let vs not play a double Henry, against a Carolus: (that, is a peece of gold, of 14 shillings, and this, a peece of brasse onely of 10. deniers) For his valour and princelike courage, it is such, to say truly, as neuer any of his Predecessors, Kings of France, were matchable to him, who, for the space of almost thirty yeeres, hath, as one would say, neuer beene vnarmed, without his foote in the stirrop, and his lance in the rest, hath beene himselfe in person, the formost in all perils, and last out of the field: A Prince not long in the resoluing, but once resolued, quicke to performe, and himselfe alwayes, one in the execution; though perhaps some wil taxe this hazarding of his owne person, as a matter of imputation, and bet-

ter

ter befitting a young Prince of *Nauarre*, then a great King of France. For as I read, *Epaminondas* was fined for hauing beene too forward, & seruing without good armour, after a great victory, which he had vpon the *Lacedemonians*. *Plut. Ep.*

This forwardnesse indeed is most honourable, and prayse worthy in all Nobilitie, and Commaunders whatsoeuer, excepting onely the chiefe. *Iphicrates* an *Athenian* Captayne, sayd, the *Vantcurrers*, resembled the hands, the *Gensdarmes*, the feet, the *Batallion* on foor, the breast, and the *Generall*, the head: which (saith hee) must best be armed, and carefullest bee garded. And therefore, the answere of *Callicratidas* is disliked, who, when it was tolde him, that in the battell hee was ready to giue the enemy, he should haue great care of his own person, for that the Sacrifices had foreshewd some danger: *Sparte dit il ne depend pas d' vn homme seul*: *Sparta* depends not vpon one man alone. This *Plutarch* reproued in *Pelopidas*. *Plut. Pel.* And *Homer* in his descriptions, makes alwayes *Achilles*, *Aiax*, and the best and chiefest Commaunders, best armed:

Stetit sub Aiacis clipeo septemplice tectus: *Homer.*

The shield of *Aiax* seuen-fold
Did shrowd him safe, and make him bold.

And the lawes of *Greece* punished that Souldier, that threw away his buckler. But I will end this discourse with the answere of *Timotheus*, to *Chares*, a Generall, talking of his many woundes of the body, and hackes in his shield: and I (quoth he) quite contrary, am ashamed of this, that when I besieged *Samos*, I came so neere the walles, that an arrowe from the Towne lighted hard by me: For that *Ie m' estois trop aduance en ieune homme*,

& hazarde plus temerairement, qu'il ne conuenoit à Chef d'vne ſi groſſe armée? I went too farre, like a forward yong fellow, and hazzarded my ſelfe more raſhly, then became the Generall of ſo great an Army. For the chiefe Commaunder is the moity of the whole force.

When one told *Antigonus*, that the enemy had more ſhipping then he, at the Ile of *Andros*: *Et moy dit-il pour combien de vaiſſeaux conte tu?* I pray you, for how many ſhips count you me?

If then one Generall be in ſtead of many ſhips at ſea; and many troopes at land, it behoueth he be carefull to keepe thoſe forces well (that is, him ſelfe) if he will doe his Countrey good ſeruice. You muſt note therefore, that there is no man ſo great by birth, or Noble, whom it well becommeth not to be as valiant and forward as the beſt, euen though hee were a King: and indeed the greater hee is, the more his honour is engaged to be valiant; prouided alwayes, that hee bee not the chiefe Commaunder of the Army. As the King of Boheme dyed in the field, on the French Kings ſide, fighting againſt the Engliſh in France, with more honour, then the French King *Francis* the firſt, at *Pauie* in Italy, where, by his too great forwardneſſe, hee was taken Priſoner.

Vigner. bib. hiſt.

Therefore it is that one ſaith, *Vn bon & ſaye General doit mourir de vieilleſſe*: A good and diſcreet Generall ſhould dye of age.

But to returne to the King. Hee is naturally very affable and familiar, and more (we ſtrangers thinke) then fits the Maieſty of a great King of France. But it is the fashion of this Countrey of France (as *Bodin* ſayth) though he ſeeme much to miſſe-like it, and preferreth the

Bodin. li. 4

Concerning the Coronation of the Kings of *France*, I read, that in the firſt race, they vſed no other ſolemnitie, but onely to lift him vp vpon a ſhield, and cary him about the Campe; crying, *Vive le Roy*: God ſaue the King: for thus *du Haillan* out of *Gregory de Tours* reporteth of the crowning of *Clouis*, the firſt that was chriſtned. Since in the yeere 1179. *Philip Auguſtus* ordained the Coronation to be alwayes at *Rhemes* in *Champaigne*: for before that time, they were crowned (but not here) as *Lewes* the *Groſſe* at *Orleans* 1099. *Pepin* at *Soiſſons*, and *Charlemagne* at *S. Denis*. And ſince then alſo, vpon occaſion, they change ſometimes the place, as ye ſee in this King for example, who was crowned at *Chartres*. *His Coronation.* *Haill. l. 3*

The ornaments heretofore vſed at this ſolemnization, are theſe: A great crowne of gold, wherewith he is crowned: a leſſe crowne, which he beares that day at dinner, made by *Philip Auguſtus*. The Camiſoles, Sandales, Tunicke, Dalmaticke, and Mantel of blue Satten, made by *Henry* 2, who alſo garniſhed of new, the olde Crownes, the Scepter, the Sword, the Spurres. All which were ordinarily kept in the Church of S. *Denis*: whence in theſe late ciuill warres, they were taken by the League, and money made of them. *La Ligue vn monſtre inſatiable, vn gouffre qui deuoure tout, vn feu qui conſume tout, vn torrent qui ruine tout, a vollé, briſé, ceſſé, fondu, tous ces ornements royaux.* The League, a Monſter that eates all, a Gulfe that deuoures all, a fire that conſumes all, a Torrent that ruines all, hath ſtollen, bruzed, broken, melted all theſe Royall ornaments. *Haill. l. 3.*

The King of *France* preſent hath made newe ornaments for the Coronation, which you ſaw at S. *Denis*.

The Princes and Peeres of France haue theſe Offices
Hail. li. 3. in that ſolemnitie. The *Archbiſhop* of *Rhemes* doth annoint him King. The *Biſhop* of *Laon* beares the Ampulle. The *Biſhop* of *Beauuais* beares the Mantell Royall. The *Biſhop* of *Noyon*, the Girdell. The *Biſhop* of *Chaalons*, the Ring. The *Duke* of *Burgondie*, the Crowne. The *Duke* of *Guyenne*, the firſt Banner. The *Duke* of *Normandie*, the ſecond. The *Count* of *Tholouſe* the Spurres. The *Count* of *Champaigne*, the Banner Royall or Standard. The *Count* of *Flanders*, the Sword royall. Thus crowned, hee holdeth the Sword in his hand, and turning himſelfe foure times, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, proteſteth to defend the Church, and maintaine Iuſtice againſt all perſons of the world: For which hee hath the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King, and firſt Sonne of the Church*: and is in right to haue precedence next the *Emperour*, before all Princes Chriſtian; though the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour of late, hath thruſt for the place, and ſomtimes had it, as namely, at the Councel of Trent: which wrong afterward, the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals confeſſed, and diſauowed the fact.

His Title.

The Spaniard alſo once ſince at the *Emperours* Court tooke the place, and in *Polonia* likewiſe they lately ſtriued, where it was ordeined (as our law is at the Ordinaries in London) that hee which came firſt, ſhould ſit firſt. The *Turke*, when hee writes to him
Bod. li. 4. this Title, *Le plus grand, & le Maieur des plus grands Princes Chreſtiens*, The greateſt and chiefeſt of the greateſt Chriſtian Princes.

And whereas *Haillan*, but with no great ground out of Hiſtories, would needes inferre, that all other Chriſtian

ſtian Princes hold of the Empire, he alleageth for a ſingular preeminence and prerogatiue, that this King holdeth nothing either of the Empire, or Church of *Rome*, but that he is next and immediatly vnder God, ſupreme, both ouer the Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticke bodie of *France*: becauſe (ſaith he) he can impoſe taxes and payments vpon the Church, without asking the Pope leaue; he cannot onely preſent, but alſo conferre benefices; he hath in right the Election of the Pope, as *Charlemagne* had, though *Lewes Debonnaire*, his ſonne, renounced againe this authoritie: for, *Vn Roy ne peut quitter ſon droict*: A King cannot giue away his right. Hall. l. 4.

But *Charles* the Great had not this power, as he was King of *France*, but as he was Emperour: I thinke therefore he doth the Empire wrong (to whom doubtleſſe this right ſtill belongeth) to beſtow it vpon *France*. For when the Empire was tranſlated out of *France* into *Germanie*, which was in the yeere 880. then were alſo all rightes and priuiledges, thereto belonging, of neceſſity to leaue this Countrey, together with the Empire, to which they are inſeparably annexed. As for the Pope, ouer whom the French writers will needes giue their King a priuiledge of Election, he deſires them (for ought I can learne) to haue an oare in their boat rather.

Concerning the Armes of *France*, they haue diuers times, as it appeares by hiſtorie, beene altered. For the firſt Armes were three Toades. After that, changed to three Creſſants, then to three Crownes, and laſtly, in the time when *France* embraced the Chriſtian faith, there were ſent them from heauen (ſay their fabulous writers) *Les fleurs de lys d'or en champ d'azure*. The floures de Luce *Or*, in a field Azure. *His Armes* Hall. li. 1.

With theſe armes of *France*, the King nowe preſent quartereth his Armes of *Nauarre*, which, whether it be a wheele or a chaine with a Carbuncle in the midſt as ſome ſay, or what els I knowe not, I cannot yet bee ſatisfied of any Frenchman that I haue asked.

His Court. I ſhould now by courſe ſpeake of the French Court, wherein, hauing yet ſpent no time, I haue little to ſay. I make no queſtion, but at our returne into theſe parts, you will ſufficiently inſtruct your ſelfe therein, as with the diuers offices, the number of the Nobleſſe that ordinarily follow it, and their ſeuerall humours and faſhions, which is a thing very fit for you to obſerue. I can onely remember you of that, which your ſelfe haue read in the booke of the late troubles, (which you may well call an Hiſtoricall declamation, or declamatory hiſtory) where it is ſaid, *Iamais la Cour de nos Roys, qui eſtoit autres-fois, le ſeminaire des vertus de la Nobleſſe Françoiſe, ne regorgea en plus de deſordres des luxes & d'exces, que ſous le regne du Henry 3*: Neuer did the Court of our Kings, which was heretofore the ſeede-plot of vertues for the French Nobleſſe, more abound in all diſorders of wantonneſſe and exceſſe, then vnder the raigne of *Henry* the third. But that was a cenſure of the Court, in the dayes of a Prince giuen ouer to pleaſures, and exceſſiue ſpending, inſomuch as I haue here heard ſay, that the only ſolemnizing of the marriage of Duke *Ioyeuſe* (his Mignion) coſt him two hundred thouſand crownes. But it is likely, that now the humour of the King being otherwiſe, the faſhion alſo of the Court is changed: for,

Dern troubl.

Claudian. *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis:*
Looke in what mould the King is form'd,

To that his ſubiects are conform'd.

Whereof you may haue two very fit examples here in France; of *Lewes*, the 11. and *Frances* the 1. without ſeeking further.

King *Lewes* would haue his ſonne *Charles* learne no Latine, forſooth, but onely this ſentence, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, He that knowes not how to diſſemble, knowes not how to raigne. Hereupon all the Court began to deſpiſe learning, and to ſay, that Latine was for a Prieſt, not for a Gentleman: And that it was learning ynough for a Nobleman, if hee could write his owne name, yea, and I haue heard of an Admirall of France, that could not do that neither.

The ſecond example is, of *Frances* the firſt, who cut his hayre ſhort, becauſe of a hurt hee had in his head: and preſently all the Court and Nobleſſe followed that faſhion, cutting (ſayth *Bodin*) their long lockes, *qu' eſtoit l' ancienne marque de beaute, et de la Nobleſſe*: Which was the ancient badge of beauty, and Nobilitie. Which olde faſhion, I doubt not but they had from the *Lacedemonians*, whoſe youth were all of them commaunded to weare long locks, becauſe (ſaith their Law-maker) *Les cheueux rendent ceux qui ſont beaux encore plus beaux, et ceux qui ſont laids plus eſpouuentables et plus hideux à voir*: Long hayre makes ſuch as are louely, more louely, & ſuch as are hard-fauoured, more dreadfull and hideous to behold.

Bod. li. 4.

Plut. Lycurg.

The carriage of a Prince, though it bee a naturall defect, and diſgraceful, is oftentimes imitated of the Courtiers by affectation. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, held their heads awry vpon the one ſhoulder, and both their Courts followed, *Tel Maiſtre, tel vallet*:

Like Maſter, like man. You ſee, in that thing wherein you would moſt be inſtructed, I am leaſt able to ſatisfie you, by reaſon we haue not ſeene the Court at all, ſaue onely two dayes, while it ſtaid here at *Orleans*. Howbeit, out of that which I there ſaw, which I haue heard of others, and read in Authors, I will aduenture to relate, concerning the Officers of this Court; for as for other great Offices, as of *Conſtable*, *Admirall*, *Marſhal*, *Grand M.* of the *Eauës* and *Forreſts*, *Grand M.* of the *Artillery*, and others, I ſhall ſpeake of them, when I come to relate of the Kings Forces ingenerall, to which place theſe Offices eſpecially apperrayne.

Officers of Court.

Grand M^r. of France: Great Maſter. *Hail. li. 3.*

The firſt Office then of Court, is that of the *Grand Maiſtre*, Great Maſter, which in elder times was called *Comte de Palais*, Earle of the Palace, and after changed into the name of *Grand Seneſchal*, and now laſtly into *Grand Maiſtre*. The *Count Soiſſons*, youngeſt Son to *Lewes* of *Burbon*, Prince of *Condie*, doth now enioy this place. It was not long ſince, in the houſe *Memorency*: but the French King, to fauor the D. of *Guiſe*, vpon whom he beſtowed the place, cauſed the other to quit it. It is his office, to iudge of matters of difference, betweene other Offices of Court. He had alſo the charge to giue the word to the Gard, to keepe the keyes of the Kings priuate lodging & to determine in diſputes amõg Princes, that followed the Court, for their lodgings. In aſſẽblies he ſitteth right before the K. a ſtayre lower, as you read in the *Dern. Trobl.* *Grand Boutellier*, or *Eſchançon*, Great Butler or Taſter, was in former times, a great Office in the Kings houſe, they had place in the Courts of Iuſtice, as Peeres. This Office was long in the houſe of the *Countes* of *Senlis*: it is now vaniſhed, and onely there remaines that of the *Grand Panetier*. This Office is anci-

Der tronb. lib. 4.

Grand Panetier: Great Pantler.

ent:

ent: he hath beſides the Kings houſe, ſuperintendence ouer all Bakers in the City and Suburbs of *Paris*. They which were wont to be called *Panetiers*, *Eſchançons*, and *vallets trenchans*: Pantlers, Taſters and Caruers, are now called *Gentils-hommes Seruiteurs de la Cour*: Gentlemen Wayters of the Court.

Gentils-hommes ſeruiteurs de la Cour: Gentlemen Waiters of the Court.

The Office of *grand Chambellan*, great Chamberlayn, was long in the houſe of *Tankeruile*: he lay at the Kings feet, when the Queene was not there. His priuiledges are now nothing ſo many as in times paſt. Thoſe which were then called *Chambellans*, Chamberlaines, are now *Gentils-hommes de la Chambre*, Gentlemen of the Chamber. The office of *grand Eſcuier*, great Eſquier, is not very ancient, though now it be very Honourable, and is the ſame that M. of the Horſe is in the Court of England: for it is taken out of the Conſtables office, to whom it properly appertained, & thereof he had his name, *Conneſtable*, *quaſi Comes ſtabuli*, Count of the ſtable. It was firſt inſtituted in the time of *Charles* 7. In the K. entrance into the City, he carries the Sword ſheathed before him, The cloth of Eſtate carried ouer the King by the Maior and Sheriffes, belongs to his Fee. No man may be the Kings Spur-maker, *Mareſchall*, and ſuch like Officer, but he muſt haue it of him, as alſo all other inferiour offices belonging to the ſtables. He had in times paſt, the commaund ouer ſtages of Poſt-horſes: but now the Contreroller, generall of the ſayd Poſts, hath it. This Office is now exerciſed by *Monſieur de Thermes*, *Seigneur de Bellegarde*, a gallant Gentleman, and one of the fineſt Courtiers of France. The Office of *Maiſtre d' hoſtel du Roy*, Maſter or Steward of the Kings houſe, hath charge ouer the expence of the Kings houſe:

Grand Eſcuyer: Great Eſquier, or Maſter of the horſe. *Hail. h.* 3.

Gentils-hommes de la Chambre: Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber.

Maiſtre d' Hoſtel: Maſter or Steward of the Kings houſe.

For a marke of his authoritie, hee carries a Truncheon tipt at both ends with Siluer and gilt, and marcheth before the Sewer, when the Kings dinner comes to the Table.

No Sergeant can arreſt any of the Kings houſe, without their leaue. They ſerue quarterly: they were wont to bee but foure, but now I haue heard it credibly ſaid, they bee 80. in name, but all of theſe doe not execute the Office. The *Grand Preuoſt de France et de l' hoſtel du Roy*, Great Prouoſt of France, and of the Kings houſe, ſo called, ſince *Charles* the ninth: for before, hee was called, *Roy des ribauds*, King of the Raskals: His Office is to ſtickle among the Seruants, Pages, Lacqueis, and *Filles de ioye* (Punkes or pleaſant ſinners) which follow the Court, and to puniſh all offences in theſe people.

Grand Preuoſt de France, &c. Great Proueſt of France &c.

I ſhould haue named before theſe laſt, as a place more honourable, the Office of *Grand Fauconnier*, and *Grand Venneur*, Great Faulconer, and great Hunt, who haue authoritie ouer all Officers of chaſe. They of the Kings chamber, are either *Gentils-hommes de la Chambre*, Gentlemen of the Chamber, of whom I ſpake before, or *Vallets de la Chambre*, Groomes of the Chamber, which are but baſe Groomes and *Roturiers*, yeomen.

Haill. l. 3. *Grand Fauconnier et grand Venneur.* Great Faulconer, and great Hunt.

Les cent Gentils-hommes de ſa Garde, The hundred Gentlemen of his Gard (though there bee two hundred of them) they hold and vſe a weapon, called *Le bec de corbin*: They march two and two before him: they are part *French*, and part *Scots*: The *Scot* carries a white Caſſocke, powdred with Siluer plates, and the Kings deuiſe vpon it: The *French* weare the Kings colours. There is alſo a Gard of *Swiſſe*, attired in particoloured Cloth, drawne out with Silke,

Gentils hommes de ſa gard Gentlemen of the Kings Gard.

after

after their Countrey fashion: these follow the Court alwayes on foot, the other on horse. Where, by the way yee may obserue, that the reason of the entertainement of *Scots* in the Kings Gard, is (as one saith) because they were *Anciens ennemys des Anglois*, Ancient enemies to the English: and euer since the house of *Austrich* matched with that of *Burgogne*, the King hath had also his Gard of *Swisses*, *Ennemys hereditaires de la maison d'Austriche*, Hereditarie enemies of the house of Austria.

Comment. de l'Estat.

Commines cap. 119.

There belongs to the Court also the *Mareschaux des logis*, Marshals of Lodgings, and *Fourriers*, Haruingers: they haue like Offices as the Haruengers in the English Court: there bee also diuers others which are here needlesse to be spoken of, and wherwith your purpose is to bee better acquainted hereafter. I will therefore proceede to speake of the order of France, which was instituted by *Henrie* the third, Anno 1579. and is called, *L'ordre du S. Esprit*, The Order of the holy Ghost. The reason of this institution, was, *Comme vne autentique declaration, qu'il ne pouuoit ny aymer, ny faire bien aux Heretiques, obligeant par vn serment solemnel tous les Cheualliers, à des conditions qui ne plaisent qu'aux ames toutes Catholiques*: As an authenticall declaration, that hee could neither loue, nor fauour the Huguenots, binding by a solemne oath all the Knights, to conditions suteable onely to mindes intirely Catholiques. Whereby yee may note, that none of the Nobilitie of the Religion are of this order, neither was this King himselfe of it, till 94. when being crowned at *Chartres*, he tooke it vpon him.

His order.

Dern. trou.

Of the S. Esprit: Or holy Ghost.

Among many other statutes of this order, this is one, That none are capable thereof, except he can proue his

Nobilitie, by three deſcents, from the Fathers ſide. You haue many in France, that are called *Cheualliers des ordres du roy*: Knights of the Kings orders: that is, both of the order of Saint *Eſprit*, and Saint *Michael* alſo. The order of Saint *Michael* was inſtituted by *Lewes* the 11. in the yere 1469. the ſtatutes whereof are compriſed in 98. Articles; amongſt which this is one, That there ſhould neuer be aboue thirty ſixe of the order. But ſaith *La Noüe*, this Article was ſo ill obſerued, that at one time there haue bin 300. whereof 100. ſhortly after, by reaſon of the great charges, and trayne they kept, were forced (as he there ſaith) *ſerrer le colier dans leurs coffres*: To lock vp their collers in their Cofers. In the yeere 60. were 18. created of this order. A thing not before heard of, that ſo many ſhould be made at once: which the *Conſtable* diſliking, ſaid, *Que l'ordre eſtoit mis en diſordre*; the order was diſordred. Againſt which, *Bodin* alſo inueigheth, and againſt the number of Barons made in France, without either deſert, or liuing. And another complaineth, that the honourable orders of France are *expoſes a l'ambition, qui eſtoyent deſtinez au merite*: Expoſed to ambition, which were dedicated onely to deſerts.

Of Saint Michael Antiq. Par.

La Noüe. Coment. de l'Eſt.

Bodin. l. 5.

Mall. l. 3.

You muſt note, that of S. *Michaels* order, there were 2. ſortes, *du grand ordre, et du petit*: the great and the ſmall order: Thoſe wore a coller of Maſſie gold; theſe onely a Ribbon of ſilke. Before theſe was the order *De l'eſtoille*, of the Starre; or as others call it, *De la vierge Marie*: of the Virgine *Mary*, inſtituted by *Iohn* the French King, anno, 1365. which after, growing too common (a fault generally noted in all Countries, where orders are erected, that they bee beſtowed vpon too many, and ſome vnworthy, except onely in the moſt noble order of the

Of the Starre.

Garter,

Garter, which by the confeſſion of all writers, maintayneth ſtill his ancient glory) the order of the Starre, I ſay, growing too common, and therefore the Princes, and nobler ſort, diſdayning to weare it, it was beſtowed vpon the (*Archers du guel*) who ſtill weare it, the Nobility hauing long ſince quitted it. But the moſt ancient order of France, is that of the *Genette*, inſtituted by *C. Martell*. The Knights of this order, wore a Ring, wherein was engrauen the forme of a *Genette*. The cauſe of inſtituting this order, is not knowne: it endured till S. *Lewes* his time. *Haill. l. 3.* *Of the Genette.* *Id. li. 3.*

Beſides theſe foure forenamed orders, which haue beene inſtituted by Kings, I reade alſo of two others in France, which had their erection by Princes of the bloud, and were onely taken by Knights of their partie.

The order of the *Pore-eſpic*, raſed by the Duke of *Orleans*, in enuy of the order of his enemy, the Duke of *Burgogne*. *Of the Porceſpic*

The order of the *Croiſſante*, or Halfe-Moone, by the Duke of *Anioue*, anno, 1464. with this Mot (*Los*) as who would ſay, *Los en croiſſant*, Prayſe by encreaſing. The Knights of this order, had in the middeſt of the Creſſant, a Truncheon, to ſignifie hee had beene in the warres: (for elſe he might not bee of that order) if twice, then two Truncheons; if thrice, three; and ſo orderly. His Habillement was a Mantle of Crymoſin Veluet, and a white Veluet Cap. *Of the Croiſſante.*

It is not much impertinent, here alſo to obſerue, what orders haue bene erected in other Countries: whereof, the moſt Noble & renowmed order of S. *George* of England, is the chiefeſt, & therefore firſt to be remembred. *Of Saint George.*

Hail. li. 3. It was instituted in King *Edward* the 3. time, before any of these of France, except onely that of the *Genet*, which (no doubt) was some obscure Order, as appeareth by the place where it was worne; and by the little, or rather nothing, which the French Writers speake thereof.

The Golde Fleece. The next is the order of the *Toison d'or*, The Golden Fleece, erected by *Philip* the second, Duke of *Burgogne*. The coller of this order hath a Golden Fleece hanging at the end, in memory (some say) of *Gedeons* Fleece: others (which is most likely) of the Golden Fleece of *Colchas*, which *Iason* with his gallants of *Greece* ventured for. The feast of these Knights, is kept vpon Saint *Andrewes* day. The habillements, a mantle of Crymson Veluet, and a cap of violet colour: It was instituted anno, 1430. There is also the order of the *Annunciade*, erected by *Amadeus* Duke of *Sauoy*: In the coller hereof is written in Letters of gold, or stone, this word, (*fert, fert, fert*) thrice, in honour of *Amade le grand*, his Predecessor: signifying (*Fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit*: His valour kept *Rhodes*) for that hee helped the Knights of *Ierusalem* to win *Rhodes*, vpon the *Turkes*, which is since againe reconquered, and they driuen into the Isle of *Malta*: At the end of the coller, hangs the purtreict of the virgine *Mary*, and the Angell saluting her.

Confer. des Ordon.

Of the Annunciation.

Of the Knights of Malta. Of the order of the Knights of *Malta*, yee shall see a whole Booke written, when ye come to Italy: As also of that of Saint *Stephen*, instituted by *Cosimo Medici*, first Duke of the vnited forces of *Florence*, and *Sienna*. I will therefore omit to speake, either of the one, or other. As also of the order of the *Band* or *Scarfe*, instituted by *Alphonse*, King of *Arragon*, whereof I want sufficient matter

Of Saint Stephen.

Of the band or scarfe.

matter to relate. I will end this discourse of Orders of knighthood, with this one obseruation, that is, that in times past, there were (as with vs) Knights, which notwithstanding, were not of the Order. Of these, were three sortes, *Cheualliers Bannerets*, *Cheualliers Bachelers*, and *Cheualliers Escuyers*: Knights Bannerets, Knights Batchelers, and Knights Esquires, or Armor-bearers. The first had twise as much pension as the second, and they twise as much as the third. It followeth I speake of his Forces, as well horse as foote, of which this Countrey is very well furnished, and indeede vanteth (and I thinke worthily) to be the best and greatest *Gensdarmerie* of any Realme in Christendome: but on the other side, their foote haue no reputation; insomuch as the last yere before *Amyens*, we should heare the *Spaniard* within the Towne, speake ouer the walles to our English Souldiers in their Trenches, after we had saued the Kings Canon, from which the French were shamefully beaten by them within sallying out vpon them:

Tillet. recueil.

His Forces.

You are tall Souldiers (say they) and we honour you much, not thinking any foote to come neere vs in reputation but you, and therefore, when you of the *English* come downe to the Trenches, wee double our Gard, and looke for blowes: but as for these base and vnworthie *French*, when they come, wee make accompt wee haue nothing to doe that day, but play at Cardes, or sleepe vpon our Rampart. Of both these Forces of horse and foote of France, you are to note this which followeth.

It is reported of the great Turke, that when hee conquereth any Prouince or Countrey, hee diuideth the Lands vpon his horsemen to each his portion, with an

Paul. Iouius.

exemption of paying either rent, taxe, or tallage whatsoeuer: onely they are bound to serue the *Grand Signore*, (Great Turke) with a proportion of horse at their owne charge, and in their owne person in his warres, except either age or sickneſſe hinder, which are the two onely excuſes admitted. Theſe are called his *Timars*: of like nature as are the *Calaſyres* of *Egypt*. You ſhall finde this that *Iouius* ſaith, confirmed by *La Noue* ſpeaking of *Greece*, *Ou* (ſaith he) *ils tirent leurs meilleurs hommes de guerre ſur leurs terres conquiſes, qu' ils leur departent, à la charge de ſe tenir en ſquepage, pour venir ſeruir au mandement de grand Seigneur*: From whence hee draweth his beſt men of warre, dwelling vpon the conquered Lands which hee diuideth among them, vpon condition that they ſhall alwayes be readie to ſerue at the commandement of the great *Turke*.

Bodin li. 5

La Noue.

So did the Kings of *France* in former times beſtowe vpon Gentlemen, diuers lands and poſſeſſions, freeing them likewiſe from taxes and aides, vpon condition to haue their perſonall ſeruice in time of neede. Theſe lands were called (*Feifs*:) inſtituted before *Charlemagne* his time, but till then, they were giuen only for life (as at this day are thoſe of the *Turkes*:) but ſince, they bee hereditary. The word *Feif*, hath his Etymologie of (*Foy*) Faith: ſignifying lands giuen by the King to his Nobilitie or men of deſert, with *Haulte et baſſe iuſtice*, with an acknowledgement of fealtie and homage, and ſeruice of the King in his warres at their owne charge. Some *Feif* was bound to finde a man at armes: ſome an Archer, ſome the third, and ſome the fourth of a man at armes, according to the quantitie of land hee held. He that had land from the valew of fiue to ſixe hundred

Hall. 3.

Ordonn.

Liures

Liures rent (that is from fiftie to ſixtie pound ſterling) was bound to finde, *Vn homme de cheual en habillement d' hommes d' armes*: A man on horſebacke, furniſhed for a man at armes: And from three to foure hundred, *Vn bon homme de cheual leger*: A good light horſe-man; Who, if it pleaſe the Prince, and vpon occaſion of ſeruice, ſhall quitte his horſe and ſerue on foot, prouided that hee haue with him a vallet Harquebutier. But they that had leſſe then three or foure hundred, had a leſſe proportion of charge. There be foure exceptions where a man is not bound to ſerue in perſon: If he bee ſicke, if aged, if he beare ſome Office, if hee keepe ſome Frontier place or other Caſtle of the Kings; for in this caſe hee may ſend another. *Ord. H. 2. 1547.*

Publica militiæ vaſſallus munera iuſtæ,
Non renuat, dominiq; libens in caſtra vocatus,
Aut eat, aut alium pro ſe ſubmittat iturum.
Arbitrio domini vel quem laudauerit ille,
Compenſet, redimatq; ſuum mercede laborem. *Tillet. recueill.*

They are bound, vpon forfeiture of their (*Feif*) to ſerue three moneths within the Land, and fortie dayes without, not counting the dayes of marching. You muſt obſerue, that as the *Seigneurs* holde their (*Feif*) of the King in *Haute iuſtice*, ſo other Gentlemen hold of them in *Baſſe iuſtice*, vpon charge to follow theſe *Seigneurs* at all times to the warres. For *Le feif eſt la choſe par l' acceptation de la quelle ceux qui le tiennent ſont tenuz du ſerment de fidelité enuers leurs Seigneurs.* The *Feif* is the thing, by the acceptation whereof, they that hold it, are bound in oath and fidelitie to their Lordes: *Hail. li. 3.*

And therefore are called their *Vaſſals* of (*Weſſos*) the old Gaule word, which ſignifieth valiant: for to ſuch were the Fieſes giuen. As for (*ſerfs*, ſlaues or villaines) theſe are domeſtike, and ſerue vpon baſer condition, for wages and victuals. There is alſo the (Subiect) that is, the poore paiſant that laboureth and tilleth the (*fiefs*) and therefore yee ſhall heare *Monſieur le* Gentleman ſpeake of *ſes terres*, *ſes hommes*, and *ſes ſubiects*: His lands, his men, and his Subiects: and yet himſelfe is vaſſall to the Seigneur, that holdes in *haute iuſtice*. But ye may note, that no word of ſeruice whatſoeuer in this diſcourſe, doth preiudice the libertie naturall of the vaſſall. The *Subiect*, nor *ſerf*, villaine, are bound to goe to the warres, but onely the vaſſall. The muſtering and gathering together of theſe forces, is called the *Ban*, and *Arrier-ban*, of the Alman words (*Here*) *exercitus*: An armie: and (*ban*) *conuocatio*: A calling together. This *Ban* and *Arrierban* conſiſted anciently of twelue, ſometimes fifteene thouſand *Genſdarmes*: But after the corruption thereof, when the *fiefs* came to be in the hands of vnable and vnwoorthy men, the Kings of *France* were forced of later times, to erect the *Genſdarmes des ordonnances*: The Gens-d'armes, or men at Armes of his Ordinances, in *Charles* 7. time. For ye muſt conſider, that there haue beene foure principall cauſes of the ouerthrowe of this *Ban* and *Arrierban*: The firſt was the gifts to the Clergie, who it is reported haue the ſixt part of theſe *fiefs* in their hands, and contribute nothing to the warres: for as one ſayeth, *Ils ne veulent rien perdre, rien payer, rien contribuer pour leur garde, & neantmoins veulent eſtre gardez*: They will loſe nothing, pay nothing, contribute nothing toward their

Confer. des Ord.

His Gens-d'armes

Haill. l. 3

their garding, & yet notwithstãding they will be garded. The next was the voyages to the *Holy land*: for whẽ one had made a vow to go thither, to serue against the *Saracens*, & Infidels, he sold his Fief, to furnish him for that purpose. The third was the warres with the English, wherein by force they lost them. The last cause is the sales of them to all sortes of people, without exception, as to the Lawyer, the Yeoman, and any other vnable person whatsoeuer, that will buy them: which till *Ch.* 7. they might not do. Yee see then, how necessary it was, this olde institution being corrupted and quite decayed, to erect a new: which they called *Les gensdarmes des ordonnances*; because at their first erection, there were diuers lawes and ordinances made for them tò obserue, which who so brake, was seuerely punished. They were at first only 1500. But after, they were increased to a hundred Companies, and giuen to diuers Princes of the bloud, and Nobles of France, to conduct and commaund, with an honourable pension: In these Companies should be 6000. (for in some there is 100. in others but 50.) howbeit, it is thought, in each company there wants some, for the benefit of the Officers, and that in truth, there be not aboue foure thousand in all. For the maintenance of this *Gensdarmerie*, there is a taxe yerely leuyed vpon the people throughout all France, called the *Taille*.

Concerning both the number of the *Gensdarmes*, and their proportion of allowance, by the *Taille*, it is thus, as *La Noue* iudgeth: *Les gens de cheual du temps du Henry 2. passoient six mille lances: mais elles ne sont maintenant que quattre mille. Et il me semble que quattre regiments d'Infanterie se doiuent entretenir en temps de paix, reglez à six cens* La Noue.

hommes chacun. Et 15. mille escus per mois y suffiroit: The Horsemen in the time of *Henry 2.* exceeded the number of 6000. Lances; but they are now but 4000. and in mine opinion, it were fit to entertayne in time of peace, foure Regiments of Infantery, of 600. men apeece.

Antiq. Pa. *His Infantery.*

As touching the Infantery, *Francis* the first was the first that instituted the Legionaries, which were in all, 8. Legions, and euery Legion to containe fixe thousand, according to the rate of the ancient Romanes. The first Legion was of *Normandy.* The next of *Bretagne.* One in *Picardy.* One in *Burgundy.* In *Champagne* and *Niuernois* one. In *Dolpheny* and *Pronence* one. In *Lyonnois* and *Auuergne* one. And one in *Languedocke.* These companies were shortly after cassed: and againe, within eighteene yeres erected; and are now againe of late yeeres dissolued, and in their place, the Regiments now intertayned, which are fiue in number: The Regiment of the *Gard*, The Regiment of *Picardy*, The Regiment of *Champagne*, The Regiment of *Piemont.* And lastly, the Regiment of *Gascoyne*, commonly called the Regiment of *Nauarre.* In each of these is twelue hundred.

These are all now in time of peace bestowed in Garison Townes and frontier places, except those of his Gard. *Bodins* opinion is, that foure Legions of 5000. apeece, would suffice to be maintayned in this land: for (saith he) the Romane Empire, which was twēty times as great had neuer but 11. Legions in pay: but this is to be vnderstood of them which were in pay ordinary in Italy, besides those Legions which they had in other their Coūtries, as in England, Spaine, Low Countries,

Bodin. l. 6.

Tacit. l. 1.

&c.

&c. For otherwise we read of those Emperors, that had 31. Legions; & *Bodin* himselfe confesseth, that *Augustus* had at one time entertayned in pay forty Legions, at 11. millions charge the yere. But this writer, though he be approued, as he well deserues; yet I thinke, if he fayled in any of his discourse, it was in matter of Warre, the profession whereof did ill agree with his long Robe; yee shall therefore take the iudgement of a discreete Souldier of France, for your direction what force the French can make, or intertaine of others, which is this, *Si nostre Roy sentoit qu'vn voisin luy voulst venir mugueter sa frontiere, i'estime qu'il pourroit aisement composer vne Armee de soixante cõpagnies de gensdarmes, vingt Cornettes de cheuaux legiers, et cinq cõpagnies d'Harquebusiers à cheual, le tout faisant dix mille cheuaux. A quoy vn pourroit adiouster trois ou quattre mille Reisters plus, cent Enseignes d'Infanterie Françoise, & quarante de ses bons amys les Swisses. Et cecy n'empescheroit que les autres frontieres ne demurassent suffisamment pourueües d'hommes*: If our King perceyued that any Neighbour of his meant to inuade his Frontiers, I thinke he might easily compose an Army of sixty companies of men at Armes, 20. Cornets of light Horse, and fiue companies of Harquebusiers on horsebacke, amounting all to 10000. Horse. To which hee might adde three or foure thousand Reysters, & one hundred Ensignes of French foot, and fourty Ensignes of his good confederates, the Swissers, and yet maintaine his other frontiers sufficiently manned. La Noüe,

So that yee may conclude, that foure thousand men at Armes, well complete, and with a proportion of light Horse and foote answerable, sheweth the whole flower, Beauty, and force of France.

Howſoeuer the Author of the Cabinet confidently auoweth, that there may eaſily bee muſtred, and maintayned foureſcore and odde thouſand horſe of one ſort and other, that is, Lance and light horſe. But I feare mee, we may ſay of them, as *Plutarch* ſayth of the Nobleſſe of *Athens*, hauing vſurped vpon the Democratie of that City: *Ils eſtoyent que quattre cens, et toutesfois ſe faiſoient appeller les cinq mille*: They were indeed but 400. and yet cauſed themſelues to be ſtiled, The fiue thouſand. So I feare me, hee reckoneth after the Athenian rate, ten for one.

Plut. Alcib.

Cabinet du Roy.

The Cabinets reaſon is this: There be in France fiftie thouſand Gentlemen that are able to beare Armes: for (ſayth he) rate this proportion at a Gentlemã in eche league, by the meaſure of France (where are forty thouſand in ſquare) and it wanteth but a fift. Howbeit, ſayth hee, in ſome Countries, ye ſhall haue thirty or forty, within the compaſſe of one league, beſides their children. Out of theſe, if the King would, hee might compoſe a *Gendarmery* of 8000. men at Armes, and 16000. Archers: which bodie of 24000. Gentlemen, would repreſent in the field 60000. horſe. Hee might alſo haue a *cauallerie Legiere*, of foure or fiue thouſand Gentlemen. He might alſo furniſh the *Ban* and *Ariereban*, according to the olde faſhion, with twelue or fifteene thouſand Gentlemen. And yet might hee haue beſides all this, foure or fiue thouſand for the State of his Court, and gouernment of his Prouinces. This is his computation. But you ſhall ſee it proued, when wee come to ſpeake of the Nobilitie of France, that it is exceedingly ſhortned in number, and decayed in eſtate, and therefore nothing able to come neere this number.

As

As good a conſequent it were to ſay, that becauſe yee haue two or three millions of men in England, able to fight, that therefore our State can bring ſo many into the field: without conſidering the prouiſion of Armes, and all other things neceſſary. But this Cabinet was made by one of the Religion, that was tranſported out of himſelfe, by the heate of his zeale, and hate to the temporall liuings of the Church: Whoſe proiects and driftes are much like thoſe of the *Supplication of Beggars* (a booke made in King *Henry* the eights dayes) where he frameth in his fancy an *Vtopia* and felicitie, not to be hoped in France, building Caſtles in the ayre, and concluding, that If it would pleaſe the King to aliene the Church temporall liuings, and vnite them to the Domaine, *nihil eſt dictu facilius*: (a thing eaſily ſayd, but not eaſily done) that ouer and beſides the forces of foureſcore thouſand horſe abouеſaid, hee might alſo maintayne an Infantery of the French Gentlemen of twelue thouſand. Item, another of the populare, of forty eight thouſand. And laſtly, yet another Infantery legionaire of 48. thouſand.

The *Supplication* was anſwered by Sir *Thomas Moore* his booke, called The *Pitifull complaint of the puling ſoules in Purgatory*: How well I knowe not, but of this I am ſure, that if ſuch a number of horſe and foote ſhould either bee maintayned vpon the Church liuing, or vpon the poore people (vpon whome all theſe charges of the *Gend'armes* lyeth, here would bee many more puling ſoules, and pitifull complayntes in France, then are Sir *Thomas Moore's* Purgatory.

It then remaines, that we hold our ſelues to the iudgement of *La Noüe*, afore ſet downe, who alſo confeſſeth,

La Nouë. that in *Charles* the sixt his time, there were in the fielde, twentie two thousand Lances, but since the *Gendarmerie* was instituted, were neuer but once at *Valenciennes* aboue ten thousand. For as for that great number, whereof yee reade in *M. d' Argenton*, that besieged *Lewes* the eleuenth in *Paris*, they were the Forces of three great Princes, and the better part *Burgognons*.

Commines

There is yet one thing you must note, why the French haue quit their Lances, and serue al with the Pistol, whereof yee shall read somewhat in *La Nouë*, and heare more of others by discourse, but nothing of mee by writing: for I dare not deale, *Vltra crepidam*, in a matter I vnderstand not fully.

Officers of warre.

I must now remember you of the Officers for the war in France: and because waire is made both by Sea and by land, I must also reckon the Sea officers: for as for the French Kings forces at Sea, I haue not yet learned that he hath any, and therefore can say nothing thereof.

Conestable.

The first and principall, and which commandeth all in the Kings absence, euen the Peeres and Princes of the blood whatsoeuer, is the *Constable*: Who, as hath before beene remembred, hath his name of *Comes stabuli*, Count of the stable. For in former times the Kings chiefe Officers were called Counts, with an addition of their office, as *Comes palatii, Comes præsidii, Comes rerum priuatarum, Comes sacrarum largitionum, Comes castrorum, Comes nauium*, Count of the Palace, Count of the Gard, &c. And though hee hath not now the command of the Kings horse, yet keepeth he still the name: This office was erected in *Lewes le Gros* his time. It was bestowed vpon the house of *Memorencie*, in *Francis* the first his time, and remayneth still in the same.

Hail, li. 2.

The

The ancient deuice of the house of *Memorency*, is this, *Dieu aide le premier Chrestien, et premier Baron de France*: God ayd the first Christian, & anciẽtst Baron of France. Hee hath the keeping of the Sword royall. And as the *Grand Escuyer*: Great Esquire, hath the Sword in the scabberd *D' Azure, semé de fleurs de Lys d' or*: Azure seeded with flowers de Lyce, or added to his Armes, so beareth the *Constable* for an Honour, the naked Sword, the *Mareschals* beare the *Hache*, Battel-axe: and the *Admirals* the Anchor. The *Constable* and *Mareshals* giue the othe to the King: He sitteth chiefe Iudge at the table of Marble, vpon all persons, Sutes, Actions, and complaints whatsoeuer touching the warres. When the King entreth a Citie, in his greatest pompe, or vpon a deliuerie, he goeth before with the sword naked: & whẽ the King sitteth in Assembly of the three States, he is placed at his right hand. He that killeth the *Constable*, is guilty of high treason. The *Mareshals* are named, as some say, of (*Marc.*) *Cheual*: Horse: & (*Schal.*) *maistre*, Master: *Qui commande aux cheuaux*, Commander of the horse. Others, of *Marcha.i. limite ou frontiere*, March or frontier: *quasi Præfectus limitum*, as it were Gouernour of the Marches. Till *Francis* the first, there were but two in all France; after, foure, and now ten: for as is said before, when any that held either some strong Towne or place of importance, came in to the King, hee did alwayes capitulate, to haue some one of these Offices, besides summes of money and Gouernments also: such was the necessities of the times, saith *Haillan*. These, vnder the Constable haue the cõmand ouer all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Captaines, and *Gensdarmes*: but may neither giue battail, make proclamation, or Muster men, without his cõmandement.

Mareshall. Com. Ordonn.

Haill. l. 4 Ibid.

They haue vnder them Lieutenants, which they call *Preuoſts Marſhals*, who haue the puniſhing of mutinous ſouldiers, ſuch as quit their colours, Rogues, and ſuch like. There is the office of Admirall, *Ce que les Mareſchaux ſont en vne Armée de terre, l' Admiral eſt en vne nauale: & ces offices ſont diſtinguez d'autant que le ſubiect eſt different & diuers*: Looke what the Marſhals are in a land-Armie, the ſame is the Admirall in a Sea-Armie: and theſe two offices are ſeuerall, becauſe the ſubiect of their imployment is differing and vnlike.

Admirall

Dern.trou.

This office is the moſt ancient of all *France*: for *Caſar* ſpeaketh thereof, *Les Admiraux de la Prouence, de Bretagne & Narbonne ſont louës pour la pratique & dexterité des guerres nauales*: The Admirals of *Prouence*, *Bretaigne*, and *Narbon* are much commended for their practiſe and skill in ſea-ſeruice.

Caſar.com lib. 2.

I maruaile therefore, why *du Haillan* reporteth, that they were firſt made in *Charlemagnes* dayes, and that one M. *Ritland* was the firſt that was made. There are now foure Admiralties, *France*, *Bretagne*, *Guyenne*, and *Prouence*. This laſt is alwayes annexed to the gouernourſhip of that Countrey: So that of *Guienne* likewiſe, till the King that now is, came to the Crowne, who before was Gouernour and Admirall of *Guyenne*: but ſince he hath diuided the commandes. Yee may obſerue in hiſtories, that all the while the French voyages were vpon the Leuant Seas, either to the *Holy-land*, *Sicile*, or *Naples*, or whitherſoeuer, the French alwayes had their veſſels and Commanders out of *Italy*. *La France empruntoit ſes Admiraux de Genes, Piſe, de Veniſe, & de Lucques*: France borrowed their Admirals from *Genoa*, *Piſa*, *Venice*, and *Luca*. Theſe haue the tenth of all

Dern.trou.

all wracke, prize or priſoners, that are taken at Sea.

Before the inuention of Shot, there was an Officer in France, called, *Grand Maiſtre des arbaleſtiers, et Cranequiners*, Great Maſter of the Croſſe-bowes and Ingines: (for *Cranequin*, is a generall word for all inſtrumēts of battery) which Office is now called The *Grand Maiſtre de l' Artillerie*, Great Maſter of the Artillerie, who at firſt alſo, immediatly after the inuention of Shot, was called *Capitaine Generall de l' Artillerie*, Captaine Generall of the Artillerie. *Grand Maſter of the Artillerie.*

You haue alſo *Treaſurers for the Warres*, which are either ordinarie, or extraordinarie: Thoſe pay the *Genſdarmes*, and theſe the Regiments of the Infanterie. Treaſurers ordinarie are ſo many, as there bee places where they Muſter: Of extraordinary, there be alwayes foure. *Treaſurers for the Wars.*

The Heraults of France are ſixe, *Normandy, Guyenne, Valois, Bretagne, Burgogne*, ſo called of the Countreyes (as with vs in England) and *Mont-ioy*, who is the chiefe of the reſt. Their ancient Office was to bee preſent at all Iuſts, and Tournements, to carrie warre or peace, to ſummon places, to defie enemie-Princes, to giue armes to men new ennobled: But now they bee onely vſed at Feaſtes, Coronations, Solemnities, Funerals, and ſuch like; for they are no more vſed in the treatie and negotiation with forraine Princes. I thinke the reaſon is, becauſe the Office hath of late yeeres beene beſtowed vpon vnworthy and inſufficient perſons. It ſhall here be needleſſe to name all other his Officers of the Warres, which are all one with thoſe of other Countreyes, as *Collonell, Captaine, Sergeant, Lieſtenant, Enſigne, Capporall*, &c. I will onely remember in a word the French maner *Heraults.*

of Muſtering, March, Charge, and ſeruice ingenerall, and then proceed to the next branch of this relation. We muſt obſerue, that (excepting the *gens d' armes*, and the Regiments abouenamed) when any Souldiers are taken vp for the warres, they are not preſſed, as with vs, but the Captayne hauing his Commiſſion, gathereth them vp by ſound of Drumme, entertayning onely ſuch as will (which may be ſome cauſe of the badneſſe, and baſeneſſe of the French foote) for being commonly the raſcall ſort, and ſuch as haue no other meanes, there cannot ſettle in their abiect mindes, that true and honourable reſolution requiſite in a Souldier. This Commiſſion muſt firſt be ſhewed to the Gouernour, Lieutenãt-generall, Bailiffe, or Seneſhall of the Prouince, vpon paine of death. Neither is it good, except it bee ſigned by the King, and one of the Secretaries of eſtate, and ſealed with the great Seale. The Souldiers leuyed, are at the charge of the Prouince, where they be taken vp, till they depart the ſame. Their March it ſhould ſeeme, is ſomewhat more ſharpe then ours: For I remember I haue heard ſay, that vpon a time, the olde *Marſhall Biron* ſhould bid *Sir Roger Williams* bring vp his companies faſter, taxing the ſlow March of the Engliſh. Sir (ſayth he) with this March our forefathers conquered your Countrey of France, and I meane not to alter it. A memorable anſwere of an honourable Souldier. For the French Charge, ye ſhall heare the *Spanyards* opinion out of *La Noüe*, *L'infanterie Françoiſe eſcaramouche brauement de loin et la Cauellerie a vne furieuſe bouree à l' affront, puis apres qu' elle ſ' accommode*: The French Infantery skirmiſheth brauely afarre off, & the Cauallery giues a furious onſet at the firſt charge: but after that firſt heate, they will.

Preſſe of Souldiers

Marche.

Sir Ro. Wil.

Charge.

La Noüe.

will take egges for their money. And indeed this is that which all writers giue them, and which best agrees with their nature: for we may say of them, as is said of *Themistocles*, he was so hote at the onset, *que perdit le souffle au milieu de la carriere*: That he lost his winde in the midst of the carriere. Or say of them, as *Fabius* of *Hannibal*, His valour is *comme vn feu de paille, et vne flamme allumée en vne matiere de peu de durée*: Like a fire of straw, and a flame kindled in matter of small continuance. *Plut. The.* *Id. Fab.*

Concerning the French discipline, *Cæsar* himselfe saith they had it first from vs, *Gallorum disciplina in Britannia reperta, atq; inde in Galliam translata esse dicitur, et nunc qui eam rem diligentiùs cognoscere volunt, plerunque illò discendi causa proficiscuntur*: It is said, the discipline of the *Gaules* was first inuented in Britanny, & from thence translated into *Gallia*; & now such as desire to attaine the perfectiõ thereof, commonly trauell thither to learne it. But they haue long since degenerated frõ their old discipline of war: & they thẽselues confesse, that since the beginning of these late ciuill wars, where Soldiers, in all disordred & dissolute maner, haue bin giuẽ to pillage, & *volleries*, (theeuery) that it is very much *abbastardie*, abastardized: Whereof *La Noue* cõplayneth in his discourses, *Quant à la discipline Militaire, il faut confesser qu'elle est gisante au lict tourmentée d'vne grieſue maladie*: As for the military discipline, we must cõfesse, that she keeps her bed, sicke of a very deadly disease. The Nobless fight always on horse, & thinke it a dishonor to serue on foot. But *Com.* saith of the Nobility of *Burgunay*, in the wars with *Lewes* the eleuenth, that they all quit their horses, *car lors ils essoyent le plus honorez qui descendoyent, à fin que le peuple en fust plus asseuré et combattist mieux: et tenoyent cela des Anglois*: For they were then most honored, that lighted on foot, *Discipline. Cæsar. Com. l. 6.* *La Noue.* *Comminet*

to the end the people might be the more encouraged, and fight more valiantly: and this they learned of the Engliſh. And it is no queſtiõ, but if ſome of the *French* Nobilitie would doe ſo, it would much confirme their foote, by the example of their valour and abiding, and recouer that reputation, which now their foote haue loſt in the world. Neither do I thinke this the leaſt reaſon, why our Anceſtors haue wonne ſo many battelles vpon them, namely, for that wee euer haue had men of Noble houſes, to lead & ſerue on foot with our forces. A notable cauſe to confirme and aſſure the vnſteady headineſſe of a multitude.

And for the opinion that the world hath of our foot, ye ſhall obſerue what the ſame writer elſewhere ſayth,

Id. *Bonnes gens de pied, et meilleurs que leurs voiſins, comme nous pourrions auiourd' huy dire les Anglois et les Suiſſes*: They be good foote, and better then their neighbours, as wee may ſay now adayes of the Engliſh and Swiſſers.

And in another place, where hee opineth of the maner of ſeruice, he ſayth: *Mon aduis eſt, que la ſouueraine choſe du mende es battaille ſont les Archers, et la fleur des Archers ſont les Anglois*: My opinion is, that in battels, Archers are the weight that turnes the ballance, and of Archers, the Engliſh are the flower: where he likewiſe diſcourſeth, how daungerous a thing it is to abide a battel, except your foote be much the better: which in my opinion was no little cauſe why the French King fought not with the Cardinall this laſt yere 97. before *Amiens*, becauſe the enemies foote were holden in number eighteene thouſand (though I hardly thinke they were ſo many) a number full as great as the French, and the Souldier farre better, they being all French, except ſome three

three thouſand Engliſh, and Swiſſers, and theirs the choyſe men of all his Garriſons, & experienced Soldiers in thoſe Low Countries. For true it is, that the Kings *Gens d'armes* were two for one, and holden alſo much the better men, aſwell becauſe there was in a maner all the Nobilitie & Flower of France, as alſo that they had the aduantage in the maner of weapon, for that the French ſerueth with the Piſtoll, & the Spanyard ſtill holds him to his Lance. But I make no queſtion, that the conſideration of the oddes on foote, was not the chiefe cauſe why we fought not that day: for we had a goodly fayre Field, and playne as might be poſſible, as alſo large: a ſingular aduantage for him which is ſtrongeſt in horſe: So had we the winde and Sunne in our backes, which are holden no ſmall helpes.

But this was the reaſon: the King thought it no policy to play all his Reſt at once, where he might haue loſt more at one game, then hee had got in eight yeeres: hee had no reaſon, but to make the Card that was now going, a Bridge of Gold (as the Prouerbe is) conſidering, that by this meanes hee ſhould gayne the Towne of *Amiens*, reaſſure other Cities that then ſtoode wauering, and recouer his reputation in the world, which by the loſſe of that Towne was much diſputed.

Of this ſomewhat hath beene ſayde before: I therefore leaue to ſpeake further thereof, as alſo of the French forces, or ſeruice in warres, with the onely remembrance of a French mans reaſon, who thought himſelfe no ſmall wiſe man, that would needes proue that the French ſeruice, and Souldier alſo, was better then the Engliſh: Becauſe (ſayth he) wee haue

more old Captaynes in France, then you in England.
Rablais. Much like the reason of *Rablais*, who would needes proue, that drunkennesse was better for the body then Phisike, because there were more old drunkards, then old Phisicians.

His Expẽce It now remayneth I speake of his Expence, which chiefly consisteth in these two things before spoken of, namely, his Court and his Forces: wherein it is very hard to relate an exact proportion, considering not onely the varietie and difference of writers, but also the vncertainty of the numbers of Pensionaires, or prouisioned: And lastly, the change and alteration of their allowance, not continuing alwayes the same. Howbeit, that which is most commonly reported, and seemeth neerest the truth, is this: The maintenance of fiue Regiments of foote, at sixe Crownes the moneth, commeth to foure hundred sixtie eight thousand Crownes the yere, besides the pension of 5. Collonels, at two thousand Crownes a peece; thirty Captaynes at one thousand pension a man; as many Lieutenants at fiue hundred, and Ensignes at three hundred the peece; which is in all seuenty foure thousand; which added to the first summe, makes the whole charge of these Regiments, yerely to amount to the summe of fiue hundred forty two thousand Crownes. This proportion differeth not much from that of *Bodin*, where he sayth, The King might maintayne in ordinary twenty thousand foote, at the rate of three millions, and fiue hundred thousand *liures*, which if you reduce to Crownes, and to one number of sixe thousand foote, commeth to a lesse rate then that other, namely, to foure hũdred eight thousand, three hundred thirty three Crownes: but I thinke,

Bod. lib. 5.

think, that former is neerer the truth. For the allowance of his *Gens d'armes*, which are reckoned at sixe thousand, as is before said (though in truth there be but foure) for he payeth thus many, I follow the proportion of them that say, that 51750. crownes, is the ordinary allowance for one company of a hundred yerely: for where are sixe thousand men at Armes in the field, are eighteene thousand horse in all. After this rate then of the hundred before set downe, the whole *Gens d'armery* amounteth to 3105000. crownes.

For the expence of his Court, you shall heare it to be thus rated: The Table of the King, and those of the Gentlemen of the Chamber, at 112000. crownes: for his *menus plaisirs*, petty pleasures, a thousand crownes a day in all 165000. (But this was a proportion for the last King, who was a great giuer.) For the *grand* and *petite Escuyrie*, great and little Stable, 190000. For the Constable, 24000. For the *grand Maistre*, great Master, 20000. For the Mareshals of France, 18000. apeece, when they were but foure; for now it is a Title onely, without either pension or commaund, saue only in the foure chiefe. For the Admirall, 15000. for the *grand Veneur*, great Hunt, 16000. For the Gouernours of his Prouinces in all, 188000. For the Gentlemen of his Chamber, their pension 1200. crownes apeece, in all sixe hundred thousand. For the Captaines of his Gards, *à cheual*, on Horse, two thousand apeece. For their Lieutenants, eight hundred. For two thousand Swisse of his Gard, ten crownes a month, 24840. For all other domesticall Officers, one hundred thousand. For Heraults, sixe thousand. For Mareshals of lodgings and Fourriers, 4600. For Preuost Marshals

Cabinet du Roy. But I doubt of this Authours report, &c.

of Prouinces, a thousand a peece, in all twentie foure thousand. For twentie foure hundred Archers to attend these Preuosts in the execution of their Office, seuen hundred and twentie thousand Crownes. For his Ambassadours in diuers Countreyes, two hundred and fiftie thousand. For his Officers of Finances, Treasurers, Receiuers, Controlers, and such other like Offices through France, an infinite & incredible summe: As also for such numbers of horse and foote as the Cabinet setteth downe, besides these *Gensdarmes* and Regiments, which yee heare prouided for, and in the Kings pay.

But yee must obserue, that of all these Court charges and others here beforemencioned (except those of his Forces) yee are not to make any ground as of a trueth: they being onely the supposed charges, set downe by this said Authour, who for his errors in other matters, hath also lost his credit in this.

Howbeit, I thought good to remember them, that yee might thereby haue some vnderstanding of the difference of those Offices, and how one exceedeth another, as well in pension and benefit, as in precedents and honour.

To speake either particularly of the Court expenses, or generally what they be certaine, I cannot, not hauing heard any thing thereof, but onely that it is supposed, the charge of the Kings house, is fiue hundred Crownes a day. But sure it is, that these late Warres haue forced the Crowne of France to be at infinite charge: for yee shall read in *La Noue*, that aboue twenty yeres since, *Nos roys ont dependu aux guerres ciuiles soixant dix millions d'or.* Our Kings haue spent in the ciuill Warres, sixtie millions

La Noue.

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ons of Crownes. And it is said that *Monsieur Gobelin, Treasorer d' Espurgne*, Treasorer of the Exchequer, passed his accompts this last yeere, for twentie one millions *d' or*, of Crownes: so deare was the recouering of *Amiens*: for no question, there was his greatest expence, (except the pay of Financers wages.)

What then hath bene the expence in these eight and thirtie yeeres space of the Ciuill warres, may easily bee coniectured to be infinit, considering withall the lauish prodigalitie, and immeasureable spending of the Princes, especially of the last: who some let not to say, that hee left the state engaged by one meanes and other; as namely, the sale of his Aides, the alienation of his Domaine, and money taken vp to vsurie, not much lesse then two hundred millions of Crownes in debt. *His Dets.*

So that wee may say, this King findes France, after *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, as *Vespasian* found the Empire after *Nero*, and *Caligula*, whereof the one had giuen away fiue and fiftie millions, and the other had spent sixtie seuen in one yeere. Whereupon he protesteth in open Senate, *Quadringenties millies*. i. 1000. *mill. opus esse vt resp. stare possit.* But no maruaile, though the Crowne of France grew farre into debt, considering that euen before these Ciuill warres, when was no such necessitie of expence, *Henry* the second ought more in 12. yeeres, saith *Bodin*, then his predecessors had leuied vpon France in forty yeres before by all meanes. *Bodin. l. 6.* *Bodin. l. 3.*

And the Chancellour auoweth to the Court of Parliament, in *Francis* the second his time, that the King could not quit his debts, which his Grand-father and Father left him in, in ten yeres: Which debts, *Bodin* in particular proueth, to bee about the summe of fortie *Com. de l' estat.* *Bodin. l. 6.*

three millions, which in the same place hee setteth down, namely, 2312610. *De prests gratuits*, (of loanes or priuy Seales, *Dont il ne payoiet point d'interest*, 1592655. for which hee payed interest: and 775979. which he was yet owing in arrerages, of the vsance behinde to be paide. Besides, to the *Duke of Ferrara*, and other debts for marriages, to the summe of 8514592. Besides other debts to particular Marchants, of 1564787. As also the summe of 14961778. for which his Aides, Domaine, and Gabelle of Salt was engaged. And lastly, 3000000. which he ought to the *Hostell de Paris*, to the Chamber or Towne-house of *Paris*.

But the beginning of all this is imputed to *Francis* the first, who hauing in his Coffers, one million, and seuen hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, would notwithstanding take vp great impresta of money at great vsance, to enable himselfe to goe through with his warres in *Italy*. A course very ill taken: and (if we may compare great things with small) much like to a couetous and greedie-minded man, who will venter vpon a purchase of his neighbours land, before he bee well prouided for such a purpose, but taketh vp money to loane, which so eateth into him, as he is at last forced not onely to sell his new purchase, but his ancient inheritance also.

For by these great interests, a Prince is brought to one of these two extremities, either vtterly to ouerthrow his Domaine and Finances, whereof the Kings of *France* are good examples: or else to play Bankrupt and pay no body, as now of late the King of *Spaine* hath done, with the Marchants of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Ausburghe*, and almost all the Bankes in *Christendome*: insomuch as

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the laſt yeere, when I was in Italy, ye ſhould heare them ſay in deriſion, that the King of Spayne had made more ill faces vpon the Exchange, in one day, then *Michael Angelo*, the famous Paynter and Caruer, had euer made good faces in all his life.

King *Philip* learned this kind of borrowing, of *Charles* the fift, his father, who at one time was indebted fiftie millions, for which his Domaynes, and Reuenues of *Naples*, and *Millaine* were morgaged, and once alſo in twenty yeres diſcharged all his debts on this faſhion. And ſurely ſo they may, and yet the Creditors bee no loſers (ſo vnreaſonable is the intereſt they take) inſomuch, as the King of Spayne payeth thirty, or forty, at the leaſt, in the hundred, for all the money hee hath of the *Genoueſes*, before his Souldiers receiue it in the Low Countries. *Bodin. li. 3*

The French Kings, not being able to crye quittance with their *Creanciers* (Creditors) in like maner, but running on further, and further, theſe fortie yeeres, as hauing great troubles, and by conſequent great charges, and little or no benefit by their Finances, and ayds (by reaſon of the former alienation) wherewith to defray thē: It muſt needes be thought, that now the Crowne of France is infinitely indebted, but whether to the ſumme of two hundred millions or no (though it be generally reported) I dare not ſay.

Monſieur Bretagne, in *Charles* 9. anno, 1562. in his *Harangue* (Oration) for the third eſtate at the aſſembly of Saint *Germaine*, after many wayes diſputed how to pay that Kings debts, concludes this as the beſt: The temporall liuings of the Church (ſayth hee) are foure millions of rent, yeerely: this ſold, would amount to *Com. de l'eſtat.*

one hundred and twentie millions. Of theſe, forty eight millions may be put in ſure hands, to intereſt, for the Clergie, which would yeerely yeeld them their foure millions, *à denier douze*, at 8. and one third of eight in the hundred, as commonly they let in France. Then would remaine for the King ſeuenty two millions: wherewith forty two millions hee might pay his debts, and redeeme his Domaine and Finances morgaged: And with the thirtie that remayne, he might fortifie his frontiers, entertayne his Garriſons, encreaſe his *Ban* and *Arrierban*, and furniſh himſelfe with Shipping. If in thoſe dayes, ſo wiſe a Counſeller, as was any in the land, could not deuiſe poſſibly how to pay the Kings debtes, without ſelling the Church lands, you may imagine it will be a hard matter, to deuiſe how to diſcharge them now, that they bee growne fiue times ſo great, as then they were. For all his Domayne is morgaged, as before is ſayd, or at leaſt the greater part, and (as *La Nouë* ſayth) that is engaged for 15. millions, which is worth 50.

La Nouë.

His rents of his Aydes are alſo gone: for they are engaged to each Generallity in France, as of *Paris, Rouen, Caen, &c.* to the number of one & twenty of them, and each hath his portion therein: which would be too tedious to ſet downe in particular. His Offices are all ſold, and many thouſand erected, ouer and beſides the ordinarie, and money alſo made of them. His poore people are already with theſe ciuill Warres ſo ſpoyled, and impoueriſhed, as there is almoſt nothing to be had.

I ſee not therefore, but we ſhould ſay of this King, as the *Recueil de l'eſtat de France* ſaith of the Duke of *Sauoy*, *Quant-à ſon argent, pour faire bonne chere en ſa maiſon il y en*

Recueil.

il y en a aſſez, mais pour faire me ſi grande guerre, non: As touching his money, hee hath enough to make good cheare at home, but not to maintayne ſo great a warre. So hee, to make merry with his friends, in this merry time of peace, hath money enough: *mais pour payer vne ſi grande ſumme, non:* But not to pay ſo great a ſumme of debtes.

It now remayneth to ſpeake of his Entrade, or Reuenue: For a Prince cannot haue peace without war, nor warre without men, nor men without money, nor money without meanes: nor are there any meanes but theſe, viz. Firſt, *Domaine*. Secondly, *Conqueſts*. Thirdly, *Dons des amys*. Fourthly, *Penſion des allies*. Fiftly, *Traffique*. Sixtly, *Impoſts ſur les Marchandiſez apportes ou emportes*. Seuenthly, *Impoſts des Subiects*: Firſt, Domayne. Secondly, Conqueſts. Thirdly, Giftes of his friends. Fourthly, Penſion of his Confederates. Fiftly, Traffike. Sixtly, Impoſitions vpon Marchandiſe, brought in, or carried out. Seuenthly, Impoſitions vpon his Subiects. And yet one other, which the Kings of France haue lately inuented to helpe, when all other fayled, which is, Eightly, the ſales of Offices, more dangerous and preiudiciall to the State, then any other. *His Reuenue.* *Bodin. l. 6.*

Of theſe 8. meanes I wil giue you particular obſeruations, and then conclude, what is generally holden to be the whole Reuenue of the Crowne of France, by all theſe meanes.

Firſt, the Domayne is, as it were, the Dowre which the State brings to the King her Husband, for her tuition, defence, and maintenance: And therefore one ſaith, *n' eſt au Roy ains à la Coronne*: Belongs not to the King, but to the Crowne. *The Domaine.* *Haill l. 3.*

There are 2. sorts of Domaines, First, the rent which the King holds in his hands, of the Feifes giuen for seruice: Secondly, that which is vnited and incorporate to the Crowne. The rights of the Domaine are these: *Rents, Fifts, payments at alienations, tributes, peages, toll,* of whatsoeuer enters or comes out of Cities, woods, forrests, and diuers other.

This is the most ancient and most lawfull ground and foundation of Finances: For yee shall obserue in *Liuy*, that at the first there were in the territorie of *Rome*, onely eighteene thousand Acres of land, whereof one third was for the Church and sacrifices, another for the Resp. and the rest for particular men. This is also confirmed by *Dionisius Halicarnasseus*, who liued with Master *Varro*, the true Register of the Romane antiquities, as *Bodin* cals him. A Citizen of Rome had but two Actes, but after the expulsion of *Tarquinius*, they had 7. apiece. This diuision among the *Romanes*, was deriued from the *Egyptians*, who did diuide their whole land into three parts: One for the Church, another for the King, and the third for the Calasyres.

Liuy li. 1.

Dion. Hali. lib. 2.

Plinie.

Diod. li. 2.

That is Domaine, which belongeth to the Crowne: First, either by Possession, time out of mind: Or secondly, by Reunion, for want of heires males, as the Appennages when they returne: Thirdly, or by Confusion, for want of such as can make iust claime, much like our concealed lands in England: Or lastly, by Confiscation of offenders inheritances.

Of this last sort wee reade, that in the time of *Saint Lewes*, there were confisked to the Domaine, the Counties of *Dreux*, *Bray*, *Fertyonne*, and *Monstreuil*, *Languedocke*, *Guyenne*, *Aniowe*, *Maine*, *Turraine*, *Auuergne*:

Comment. de l'Estat.

And

And after, in the time of *Philip*, the Duchy of *Alençon*, the Counties of *Perche*, *Perigort*, *Poutieu*, *La Marche Angoulesme*, & Marquisate of *Saluzzes*. But *Bodin* saith, most of this came to the Crowne by force: *La sieur de la serre*: He saith, it came by way of exchange or purchase. But the Author of the Comentaries, of the estate of the Religion, and policie of France, is of the first opinion. Thus great was the Domayne in former times, that of it selfe, without oppressing the people with Impositions, it was sufficient to maintayne the State and greatnesse of the Kings of France, but it is now vterly wasted. *On sçait bien que le Domaine qui seul entretenoit la splendeur et le lustre de l' estat Royal, n' est tel qu'il estoit de temps du regne des roys Loys, 11. Ch. 8. et. Lo. 12. La continuation des guerres l' a faict engager en plusieurs mains, en telle sorte qu' il faudroit plus de quinze ou seze millions des liures pour rachepter ce qui en vsut plus de cinquante millions*: Tis well knowne, that the Domayne, which alone maintained heretofore the beauty and lustre of the Royall Estate, is not now such, as it was in the raignes of King *Lewes* 11. *Charles* 8. and *Lewes* 12. The continuance of our warrs, hath caused it to be engaged in many hands, in such sort, that there is neede of more then fifteene or 16. thousand pound Sterling, to redeeme that which is worth aboue 5. millions of poundes. And *Bodin* saith, that almost all the Counties, Baronies, and Seigneuries of the Domaine, are aliened for the ninth or tenth part of that they be worth. Yee must obserue, that the lands of the Domaine are not alienable, but in two cases. 1. *Pour l' Apennage des freres*, 2. *Pour les guerres*. 1. For the Apēnage of the Kings brother. 2. For the warres: & these must be cōfirmed by the Arrest of the Parliament.

Dern. troubl.

Haill. l. 3.

For in all other caſes, all Lawyers and Hiſtoriens of *France* agree, that it is inalienable, and many Arreſts haue beene made of late yeeres to confirme it. I haue read, that the *Charta magna* of England ſaith, the Kings when they are crowned, take an othe, not to aliene it: ſo doe they heere in France. And there is no preſcription of time, to make ſuch ſales or alienations good, but that they may bee recouered and repurchaſed, whenſoeuer the Crowne is able.

Plut. Cato Cenſ. To this purpoſe *Plutarch* ſayth well, *Men cannot preſcribe againſt God, nor particulars againſt the Reſpublique.*

Conqueſt. 2. Concerning the ſecond meanes of rayſing mony by Conqueſts, the preſent ſtate of *France* can yeeld no example, it hath bene long on the loſing hand: but ye ſhall read, that the Turke dayly, when hee conquereth a Prouince or Countrey, giues the Lands to ſuch as ſhall ſerue him in the Warres, whom he ſendeth thither as it were Colonies, to enioy eche one his portion of ſome foure and twenty Acres of our meaſure, or as other reckon, thirty. He giues them alſo Wheat to ſeed their land, vpon condition to pay him halfe the fruits of the ſeuenth yeere, and halfe of the twelfth: and when the party dies, his goods goe to the Turke: ſo that the *parties caſuelles*, caſualties (as they heere call them) is a great reuenue to him.

Parties Caſuelles in France, is onely ſale of Offices. So the Spanyard hath ſent of his people into *Peru*, there to inhabit (much like this courſe the Turke takes) and from thence yerely receyueth to the value of two millions, that is, the fift of ſuch Gold and ſiluer, and other commodities, as are there found.

3. For the third meanes, it is now out of ſeaſon: it

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was vſed in that good olde world, when *on ſe mouchoit ſur le manche*: Men wiped their noſe on their ſleeue, (as the French man ſayes:) for now Princes are ſo farre from giuing, as they hardly pay that they owe.

Of theſe gifts yee ſhall reade in *Polibius*, *Florus*, and others: As of the King of Ægypt, who ſent to the Citie of *Rome*, when it was diſtreſſed by *Hanniball*, the ſumme of 400000. Crownes. *Liuy. l. 38*

And *Hieron* of *Sicill* ſent them a Crowne of gold, of three hundred peundes weight. They of *Rhodes* had an olde ruinous Coloſſe fell downe, which ſtood hard by the Key, and in the fall brake three or foure Shippes: to repayre which loſſe, the King of Egypt ſent them 1800000. Crownes in gold, beſides a great quantity of ſiluer, and three thouſand *muyds* of wheate: *Hieron* ſent them 60000. Crownes. So did *Ptolemey* ſend great gifts to them of *Ieruſalem*: And ye ſhall reade of ſixe kingdoms giuen to the Romanes, by teſtament: and the Dutchy of *Guelderland* giuen to the Duke of *Burgogne*, not much aboue an hundred yeeres ſince. *Polib. l. 4.* *Commines.*

4 The fourth meanes alſo of Penſion, which Princes haue vpon ſome conſideration of their Allies, helpeth the French Kings Coffers nothing at all: for they rather giue then take: As for example, to diuers cantons of the *Swiſſes*, to whome at firſt they payd not aboue one hundred and twentie thouſand *liures* yeerely: but for theſe fifty yeeres, they neuer pay leſſe the yere, then two millions. For ſayth *Commines*, *Lewes* 11. entred league with the *Swiſſes*, and they into his Penſion: to whom he yeerely gaue ſortie thouſand Flourins, whereof twentie to the Cities, and twentie to particular men, vpon condition to haue a certayne proportion of their *Penſion*

forces to serue him in his Warres vpon all occasions. An aduantagious alliance for the Swisse in my opinion, who by this meanes enrich themselues, cleare their Countrey of many idle and bad members, and lastly, breede good Souldiers, to serue themselues vpon need, at another mans cost. The *Turke* hath also a pension of the *Emperour* of *Germany*, for certaine Lands he holdeth in *Hungarie*: which he notwithstanding vanteth to be a Tribute. Many examples might bee alleadged of this kinde, as of *Philip* of *Macedone*, that by pensions got all *Greece* partial on his side: and the Kings of *Persia* by pension, got euer the Forces of *Asia* diuerted.

Bodin. li. 5

Plut. Lysander.

Traffick.

5 The fift, which is of Trafficke, auaileth nothing the French Kings: for they holde it heere a base and sordid kind of profession for a Gentleman, much more for a King, to trade by Marchandize. And by the Lawes of *England*, *France* and *Germany*, hee loseth the qualitie of a Nobleman, that doth trafficke. The Law *Clodia* forbad a *Romane* Senatour to trade, or haue Shippe of burthen, *Quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus est*: The Senatours esteemed any kinde of trade or trafficke vnworthy of their ranke. And the *Emperours* Law forbad all Gentlemen and Churchmen to vse it.

Bodin. li. 6

Liuy li. 21.

Notwithstanding these Lawes, and the disparagement that it brings to Nobilitie (for saith *Tully*, *Mercatores sunt sordidum genus hominum*, Marchants are a base kinde of people) yet so sweete is the sauour of gaine, that many haue vsed this as no small meanes to encrease their Finances. The great Duke of *Tuscaine* present, gaines infinitely this way, and the more by his most vnlawfull and tyrannous Monopolies: for hee commonly buyeth vp all the graine of his owne Countrie,

Cice. offic.

at

at his owne price: yea, and that which commeth from other places also, and then sendeth out a *Bando* or Proclamation, that no man shall sell any Corne throughout his State, till his owne be solde, forcing also all Bakers and other people to buy thereof. This maner of engrossing *Alphonsus* of *Arragon* also vsed, by the testimonie of *Bodin*. The Kings of *Portugall* also, and the *Seignoria* of *Venice*, haue bene great traders by Marchandise, but it hath beene in an honester fashion, at Sea, and not to the grinding of their poore Subiects. The Nobilitie also of *Italy*, in all Cities (except *Naples*) holde it no dishonour to trafficke in grosse, as yee shall generally obserue when yee come into that Countrie.

6 The sixt meanes of raising money vpon all wares and Marchandise, that come in & goe out of the Countrie, is the most ancient and best agreeing with reason, and vsed by all Princes in the world. The late troubles haue made the benefit hereof very small to the Crowne of France, for these many yeeres past. The particulars comprised vnder this branch, are these: *Le haut passage, ou Domaine foraine*, and *La traicte foraine*. Customes inward, and outward: By these the Prince is to haue Impost, *Cinq pour cent*, fiue in the hundred: so much iust had the *Romanes*, *Teste Ciceron in Prætura Sicilienſi*, As *Cicero* witnesseth in his Pretorship of *Sicilia*. The *Turke* takes, *Dix pour cent*, Ten in the hundred of the stranger, and *cinq*, fiue, of the Subiect: the *French* quite contrary. You must obserue, that that which here I call the *Domaine foraine*, is generally called the Aides: first, graunted by the Estates to *Charles* Duke of *Normandie*, when *Iohn* his Father was prisoner in *England*: which was the paiment of 12. *Deniers*, the *liure, sur toutes les merchandises* et

Impost vpon Marchandise.

Bodin. li. 5

Haill. l. 3.

et denrees qui seroyent venduës en ce royaume excepte sur le vin, le bled, le sel, et autres breuuages: mais depuis il s' est faict perpetuel et augmenté, par l' imposition du vin vendu en gros par tout, & en Normandie en detaille: Vpõ all marchãdizes and wares which should be sold in this Kingdome, except vpon Wine, Corne, Salt, and all maner of drinke: but since it hath beene made perpetuall, and augmented by the impoſition vpon Wine solde euery where, and in Normandie by retaile.

This is like the Gabel vpon all maner of foode, which the Princes take of their Subiects through *Italy*, or the Assise vpon bread and beere which the *States* haue in the Low-countryes: a grieuance, whereof we smart not in England, as also we are free frõ many other burthens, which the people of these Countries are forced to beare: and yet yee shall heare our people (therefore ignorant of their owne happinesse, which they enioy vnder the blessed Gouernement of our gracious Soueraigne, because they knew not the miseries of others) murmure and grudge at the payment of a Taxe or Subsidie, as a matter insupportable, which, in comparison of the impositions laide vpon others, is a matter of nothing.

Touching the Gabell of Salt (which is also comprised vnder this head) Some say it was first erected by *Philippe le Long*: Others by *Philip de Valois*, 1328. True it is, that the ordinance of *Francis* the first, 1541. sets downe an impost of twentie foure *Liures* vpon euery *Muy*: And in the yeere 1543. an ordinance was made for Gabell, to be taken vpon all Sea-fish salted. And in 1544. it was ordained, that all Salt should bee sold and distributed into the *Magazines*, or Storehouses of euery

seuerall

ſeuerall generalitie. The benefit of this one commoditie, hath beene very commodious to the Crowne, till the yere eightie one, whē the King was forced for want of money to let it out to others: whereby he loſt, as is in my Authour prooued, eight hundred thirtie ſixe thouſand Crownes yeerely. Here is alſo a kinde of taxe, called the *Equinallent*, that is, an impoſition laide vpon ſome perſons and places (but not generally) to haue libertie to buy and ſell Salt, and to be exempt from the *Magazines*. *Dern. trem.*

The Impoſt of Wine is laide vpon all, without exception or exemption whatſoeuer, it is the twentieth part to the King: beſides all other rights, as of Billots, entring into Cities, paſſages by land or ryuer, and ſuch like: Beſides, a later impoſition of fiue *Sols* vpon euery *Muy*, leuied by *Charles* the ninth 1561.

Concerning the (*Traicte foraine*) it is of like nature with the Aides, ſaue that it is leuiable vpon more particular ſorts of Marchandiſe: beſides, the Aides is an Impoſt vpon things ſpent in the Land: and the *Traicte foraine*, is of ſuch commodities as are tranſported out: As of Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Wine, Vineger, Veriuice, Cidre, Beeſes, Muttons, Veales, Lambes, Swine, Horſes, Lard, Bacon, Tallow, Oyle, Cheeſe, Fiſh of all ſortes, Drougs of all ſorts, Mettals of all ſortes, Silkes and clothes of all ſorts, Leather of all ſorts; and finally all other marchandiſe, as Fruites, Parchment, Paper, Glaſſe, Wood, Roopes, &c.

7 The ſeuenth ground or foundation of Finances, is the *Impoſition* vpon the Subiect: that is, not vpon the Wares or commodities, but vpon the perſons themſelues, according to their abilitie, and it is much like the *Impoſition vpon the Subiect.*

leuying of the taxe and ſubſidie in England, where euery one payeth rateably to the lands and goods he poſſeſſeth. And therefore *Haillan* iudgeth well, to ſay, they bee neither perſonall, nor reall, but mixt, *impoſées au lieu du domicile, ayant eſgard à tous les biens du taillable, en quelque part qu' ils ſoyent aſſis et poſez*: Aſſeſſed in the place of their dwelling, according to all the goods of the partie aſſeſſed, in what part ſoeuer they lye or abide.

Hail. l. 3.

Theſe (*tailles*) were firſt rayſed by Saint *Lewes* (but by way of extraordinary Subſidie.) *Charles* the 7. made them ordinary for the maintenance of his *Gendarmerie*. And whereas at firſt they were neuer leuyed but by conſent of the three States, and to endure but while the warre laſted, he made them perpetuall. Therefore ſaith one, *Ce qu'eſtoit accordé par grace, eſt depuis venu patrimonial et hereditaire aux roys*: That which was at firſt yeelded of fauour, is become ſince patrimoniall and hereditarie to our Kings. (But this is a common courſe, I thinke there is no countrey in *Europe* but can giue inſtances therof.) There is yet to be obſerued, that theſe *tailles* are onely lyable vpon the *Plat païs* (the County) all Cities are exempt, as alſo all Officers of the Kings houſe, all Counſellors, Lawyers, and Officers of Courtes of Parliament, all the Nobilitie, the *Genſdarmes*, the Officers of warre, the Graduates of Vniuerſities, &c.

Haill. li. 3.

The (*taillon*) is another impoſition, raiſed by *Henrie*, 2. anno, 1549. which was to amend the wages of the *genſdarmes*, who by reaſon of the ſmalneſſe of their pay, lay vpon the poore villages, and ate them vp; for the eaſe whereof this impoſition was deuiſed, which alſo lyeth vpon the poore Countrey-man: whereby at firſt hee was ſomewhat eaſed: But now all is peruerted; the

poore

poore is ſtill oppreſſed, and yet he payeth ſtill both *taille* and *taillon*.

Laſtly, there is the *ſold*, or pay of 50000. foote, which ye may remember were erected by *Lewes* the eleuenth, in eight legions, ſixe thouſand to a legion, which with their Officers, come about this number. To maintaine theſe Legions, there was a taxe leuyed vpon all ſortes of perſons priuiledged in the (*taille*) but onely the Nobles. (There are alſo the *Decymes* (Tenthes) leuyed vpon the Church.) For the leuying of the *taille*, *taillon*, and *ſold de 50000. gens a pied*, wages of 50000. foote. Ye muſt note, that the King ſends his Letters Patentes by Commiſſioners, to the Treaſurers of each Generalitie: theſe, according to the ſumme, rate each Election, (this is, as yee would ſay, a hundred in a ſhire, or a Bailywike) and then ſend to theſe Elections, to haue the ſaid ſumme gathered in their ſeuerall Townes, and Hamlets, according as they be rated. *Idem. li. 3*

So doe they to the *Maieures*, *Conſuls*, *Eſcheuins*, and chiefe Officers of euery City, that are lyable to any of theſe payments, who rating euery man according to his abilitie, giue theſe Rolles to certayne Collectors to gather it vp: Theſe are bound to bring it quarterly to the Receiuers. Theſe carry it to the Receiuers generall, in the ſame *ſpecies* that they receiued it: and from them to haue an Acquittance, after the Accounts haue beene peruſed by the Controler generall.

And theſe are all the meanes, by which Princes rayſe their Finances, whereof yee ſee ſome, nothing to pertayne to the French King, but to others; and ſome to him onely, not to others.

Sale of Offices

8 There yet remayneth one other meanes (though extraordinary) to a Prince, to get money, which the neceſſities of the times, and the want of other meanes, haue forced the French Kings of late yeeres to vſe. This is the vent or ſales of Offices, a very dangerous & hurtfull Marchandize, both for the Prince and ſubiect.

Bodin. l. 6. This Leſſon (ſayth *Bodin*) the French Kings firſt learned of the Popes, with whom it is ſtill as familiar, as olde, to ſell Biſhopricks, liuings, & Eccleſiaſticall promotions.

Dern. tromb. A courſe, ſaith one *de grãde conſequence & tres-perilleuſe, mais couuerte de neceſſité:* of great and dangerous conſequence, but cloked with neceſſity. It is indeed thrice dangerous, becauſe ſales of offices cauſe ſales of Iuſtice: for what theſe Purchaſers pay in groſſe, they muſt needs get in retayle, forgetting what was ſayd to *Sophocles*, the Gouernour of *Athens*, *Il faut qu'vn Gouerneur ait non ſeulement les mains nettes, mais les yeux auſſi*: A Gouernour muſt not onely haue his hands cleane, but his eyes alſo. They cannot ſay, as *Pericles* did on his deathbed, *Que nul Athenien pour occaſion de luy, n'auoit onc porté robbe noire*: He had neuer made any Athenian weare mourning robe. For theſe, by ſelling Iuſtice, and robbing the poore of their right, giue the fatherleſſe and oppreſſed Widdowe iuſt cauſe to complayne, and of wearing that mourning robe that *Plutarch* ſpeakes of.

Plut. Peri.

Saint *Lewes*, among many other good Lawes, and reuocation of diuers impoſitions extraordinary, made alſo an Edict againſt the ſale of Offices. And it is reported of *Alexander Seuerus*, that he ſhould ſay when one offered a peece of money for a certayne Office, *Non patiar mercatores poteſtatum*: I will ſuffer none to traffique Offices. Therefore ſayth the Athenian Orator

Haill. l. 3

Spartian.

to

to *Timarchus*, *That the liues, not the Purses of them that stoode for Offices, were to be looked into.* And yee shall reade in *Plutarch*, that he which anciently stoode for an Office in *Rome*, was to shew himselfe certaine dayes before the Election, in the *Forum* or open streetes, apparelled in a thinne Robe, that through the same, the people might see the wounds he had had in the Warres for his Countries seruice, and thereafter as he had deserued, to choose him. And lest any man should by briberie, corruption, or any such indirect and vnlawfull way, seeke to get any Office or Authoritie, these olde *Romans* made many good and wholesome Lawes, against such maner of proceedings (which they called *Ambitus*) i. an Ambicious seeking of preferment. This the *Lex Petilia* forbad: The *Lex Calphurnia* declared them that were detected of any such course, to be vncapable of that Office for euer. And the *Lex Tullia* banished them that were conuinced (*Ambitus*) for ten yeeres: so hatefull were such purchases in those dayes. *Demosthenes.* *Plu. Coril.* *Bodin. li. 5* *Cicer. pro Muran.*

And in the time of *Ferdinand*, they had the like law in Spaine, against the buying of any Office, whether of Warre or Iustice: *Que ose quedam vender ny trocar, officios de Alcaldia, ny Algnazilado, ny Regimiento, ny vientes quatria, ny fid executoria, ny turaderia.* *Turquet. hist. Sp.*

Thus you may obserue, how hurtfull soeuer it be to Common-wealths, and how much so euer forbidden, yet that necessitie oftentimes forceth Princes, to that which is most losse to themselues: *La pauureté quelques fois contraint le Roy de caser bonnes loix pour subuenir à ses affaires: et depuis qu' vne fois on a faict ceste ouuerture il est presqu' impossible d' y remedier*: Pouertie sometimes con-

straineth the King to breake good Lawes, to helpe his affaires, and when once this hole is made in the Lawes, it is almost impossible to keepe it.

It is a strange thing to consider, and incredible to beleeue, what infinite masses of money haue bene made heere in *France* by these sales, where there is not that Collector, Cõtroller, Treasurer, Sergeant, or subalterne Office whatsoeuer, but he hath bought it of the Prince, and at no small rate: for I haue heard it credibly reported, and yee shall reade also in late writers, that these Offices are bought in *France* at a dearer rate then our Lands in *England* of twentie yeeres purchase. Yee must obserue they haue them for terme of life, and after, to returne to the King who is againe to sell them. A man in his sicknes, or in danger of death, or vpon any neede whatsoeuer, may sell this his Office, or resigne it to his Sonne or friend whatsoeuer: which sale is good, if the party liue fortie daies after the sale or resignation is confirmed, otherwise not. Now we are to consider, what Entrade or Reuenew, the French King yeerely maketh by any or all of the meanes abouesaid.

The estate of the Finances, Domaine, and al in *Charles* the sixt time, Anno 1449. was but 1400000. *Liures.* *Henry* the second, *leuoit sur son peuple par voye ordinaire quinze millions des francs tous les ans: dont quelque partie a depuis esté engagée pour les dettes: Non obstant lesquelles nostre Roy en tirs autant auiourd'huy:* rayled vpon his people by way of ordinarie Reuenew, fifteene thousand pound sterling a yeere: whereof some part hath since bene alienned for the debts of the Crowne, which notwithstanding the King rayseth as much now.

Bodin. l. 6.

La Nouë.

But

But yee may obſerue, that this ſumme is of late yeres growne much greater, (by two thirds) as is generally beleeued: for whereas in thoſe dayes, ſome three or foureſcore yeeres, ſince the ordinarie ſumme was fifteene millions of *Francs* or *Liures*, it is now ſo many of Crownes. And *Monſieur Rinault*, Treaſurer to the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſhamed not ſome eight yeres ſince to ſay, that his Maſter had improued the Realme of France to a better rent, then any Prince had done beforetimes: For ſaith he, *Au lieu qu' il ne vallait que dix huict ou vingt millions, il en vaut auiourd'huy cinquante*: Whereas it was woorth but eighteene or twentie thouſand pound ſterling, it is now woorth fiue millions ſterling. *Muheuſtro et Manant*

And another ſaith, that onely by the ſales of Offices in twentie yeeres ſpace, *Le Roy en a tire cent trent et neuf millions*: The King hath rayſed one hundred thirtie and nine millions, which is after the rate of ſeuen millions the yeere. So that it is probably to be inferred, that the Reuenewes are at leſt fifteene millions of Crownes; wherein all late writers agree: Neither muſt we thinke, that men are miſtaken, by counting Crownes for *Liures* (conſidering that *Bodin*, and *La Nouë*, and moſt elder writers ſpeake onely of *Liures*, not of Crownes.) For the maner of Accompt of France, is by eſpeciall ordinance commaunded to bee made by Crownes, and that of *Liures* to ceaſe: So that whenſoeuer yee reade in the Stories of France, of any ſumme of thouſands, millions, or ſuch like, without naming either *francs* or Crownes: you are to reſpect the times when it was written; for if it was aboue twentie yeeres paſt, they meane *Liures* or *Francs*: if of latter yeres then twentie, it is alwayes to be *Deun. troub.*

vnderstoode they speake of Crownes: this rule will not faile you.

Hauing briefely spoken of his *Entrade*, and sufficiently of the meanes by which he raiseth it, as especially by the last, which is not the least: namely, the sales of Offices, which are now bestowed, not vpon them which can execute them best, but such as can giue the most; of whome we may say, as *Commines* of them of his time, presently after the Battell of *Montlherry*, *Tel perdoit ses offices et estats pour s' en estre fuy, et furent donnes a autres qui auoyent fuy dix lieües plus loing:* Some lost their Offices and estates for running away, the which were bestowed vpon others, that ranne ten leagues further: So these Offices were taken from them that pilled the people much, and bestowed vpon others that pill them ten times more.

Commines.

Officers of his Finances.

Hauing, I say, spoken sufficiently of these, it remaineth I keepe the same course I haue done hitherto: that is, after the relation of the Court, to reckon vp the Officers of Court, and after the discourse of his Forces, to speake of his Officers of warre: So here likewise after mention made of his Finances and Reuenewes, to remember his Financers and Officers, vsed for the Collection, keeping and disposing of the same. Of which officers, we may say, as the Philosopher sayes of wiues, that they be *Mala necessaria*: Necessarie euils. And as he saith of them, The lesse of euils is the best: so say we of these, The fewer the better. But when wee reade, that the olde *Romanes* had of these but one in a Prouince, you shall obserue heere in some Prouince not so fewe as one thousand.

The

The chiefe of these is the *Treasurer d'Espargne*, of the Exchequer, instituted in *Francis* the first his time, in place of the Receyuer generall. There is also another Treasurer of the *parties casuelles*, Casualties. The third sort are the Treasurers *generaux des Finances*, whom also they call Treasurers of France; (for as for the Treasurers ordinary and extraordinary of the Warres, we haue already spoke of them in the relation of his forces, and of the Treasurer *de menus plaisirs*, of his petty pleasures, when we spoke of his Court.) The number of these Treasurers generall, as also of all other Officers of Finances, ye may partly conceaue by the number of Generalities which are in France, and the seuerall Offices of eche one of these.

Treasurer d'Espargne.
Treas. de parties casuelles.
Treas. generaux.
Treas. de menus pl.

Of these Generalities are twenty & one in all *France*, *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Caen*, *Nantes*, *Toures*, *Burges*, *Poictiers*, *Agen*, *Tholouse*, *Montpellier*, *Aix*, *Grenoble*, *Lion*, *Ryon*, *Dyon*, *Chaalons*, *Amyens*, *Orleans*, *Soissons*, *Lymoges*, *Moulin*.

Generalities.

In eche of these Generalities are diuers Elections, that is, diuers places for the Receipt of the Finances: As in that of *Orleans* are eleuen Elections, in the rest some more, and some lesse, to the number of 170. in al.

Elections

In euery Generality are ten Treasurers; three Receiuers generall of the Finances; three Receyuers generall of the *Taillon*; one Receiuer generall of the *Dismes*; two Receyuers generall of the Woods: And for euery Receiuer, so many Controlers generall: two Treasurers generall of the extraordinary of the Warre, for the payment of Garrisons and Souldiers in time of Warre.

Receiuers.
Controlers.

Besides all these generall Officers, there are also in eche particular Election, three Receyuers of the *Taille*,

three of the Aides, two of the *Taillon*, & as many Controlers, beſides all other inferior Officers. If then there be thus many in one Election onely, ye may iudge the infinite number in all France, vpon which they lye, as thicke as the Graſſehoppers in Ægypt.

Chamber of Accounts.

I muſt here alſo remember the Chamber of Accounts, the chiefe Court of the Finances: wherein are foure Preſidents, twelue Maſters, eighteene Auditors, foure Correctors, one Procuror generall, one aduocate, one greffier, ſixe huiſſiers, or Sergeants, and other inferior Officers, to the number (as *Bodin* ſayth) of two hundred, beſides ſeruants (and it is likely, the number is not leſſened ſince his time.)

Bodin. l. 5.

In concluſion, the Officers here, and of other places, are ſo exceeding many, as a Preſident of this Court ſhewed the Eſtates of France, in the aſſembly at *Blois*, that of the *Eſcu*, ſixe ſhillings, which was payd by the Subiect, there came but a *teſton*, 1. ſhilling 8. pence to the Kings Cofers.

Many motions haue beene made, from time to time, for the redreſſe hereof, but the faction of Financers is ſo ſtrong, and the ſumme ſo huge, which the King owes them, that it is remedileſſe.

Court of Aides.

The Court of Aides alſo is as full of Offices, as that other. Theſe Finances (ſaith one) *ont eſté brouïllées, alterées, changées, et reduictes en art ſi obſcure, que peu de gens y entendent, ou peuuent y entendre, ſ' ils ne ſont nourrys en la Caballe, de ceux qui l'ont obſcurcie:* haue bene ſo ſhuffled, altered, changed, and reduced into ſo obſcure an Arte, that very few either do, or can vnderſtand it, except they haue bene brought vp in their Cabale that haue obſcured it. No maruell therefore, though there bee much

Haill. l. 4.

difference

difference among men, about the certayntie thereof, either for the truth of the ſumme, or number of the Officers.

Howbeit, hauing now wound my ſelfe out of the laborſome Laborinth thereof, directed by the clew of the beſt writers, and moſt iudicious Informers, that as yet I could meete withall, I will proceede to relate of the reſt, and firſt of the Kings Coyne, for that ye know theſe Financers are neuer without money: and next that, I will remember the Adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and ſo by conſequent ſpeake of the Courts, Iudges, Lawyers, and ſuch like, who, of all people in the world, hunt after it with greateſt greedineſſe.

His Coyne.

The Coynes of France, are either of Gold, Siluer, or Braſſe. In thoſe of Gold I muſt be better inſtructed my ſelfe, for I know not but the Crowne, which is of three or foure ſorts, whereof that of the Sunne is the beſt, and the halfe Crowne. Thoſe of Siluer are theſe, the *Liure* or *Franc*, which is 2. ſhillings ſterling: The *quart d' eſcu*, which is 1. ſhilling, 6. pence. The *Teſton*, which is halfe a *ſoubs* leſſe: The peece of tenne *ſoubs*, which is 1. ſhilling ſterling: the halfe *quardeſcu*, the halfe *teſton*, and the peece of fiue *ſoubs*, that is ſixe pence ſterling. Thoſe of Braſſe, is the peece of ſixe Blanks, which is three pence: that of three blankes, three halfe pence. The *ſoubs* of 12. *deniers*: the *liard* of foure *deniers*, the *double*, of two: and laſtly, the *denier* it ſelfe, whereof tenne make 1. peny ſterling. This baſer and ſmaller kinde of money, hath not beene vſed in France, but ſince the beginning of the ciuill warres. The *Teſton* is the beſt ſiluer. It is a general and a true complaint, that the Coyne is much leſſe in France, then it hath beene, and that there is the better

halfe of French Crownes gone out of the land within theſe twenty yeres: whereof is no maruell, conſidering that marchandiſe hath almoſt lien dead, the Countrey vnfruitfull, becauſe vntilled, and many troups of forrayne Soldiers, eſpecially of Swiſſes and Reiſters, heere all the while payd.

Howſoeuer it decreaſe in France, true it is that *Bodin* ſayth, that it increaſeth generally in all theſe Weſt countries of the world; as alſo that they haue leſſe and leſſe in the Eaſt parts: For ſo he reporteth out of *Strabo*, that in former times the Kings of Egypt rayſed yeerely vpon their people ſeuen millions and a halfe. And *Plutarch* ſayth, that *Scylla* taxed *Aſia minor* at twelue millions of Crownes, which is little more then the ſixt part of that the Turke holds, who notwithſtanding at this preſent rayſeth not aboue ſo much in all his dominions. But in theſe Countries, as yee ſee by this Realme of France, the Reuenues ſtill grow greater and greater: of this the abundance of money is no little cauſe: So is it alſo the cauſe, that the prices of all wares are growne, not that things are now more ſcarce, or people more plentifull, which ſome will needs perſwade themſelues to beleeue.

Strabo.

Plut. Scyl.

And therefore one reaſons well, that ſayth, The Reuenue of *Charles* the ſixt, which was but fourteene hundred thouſand *Francks*, was as ſufficient to maintayne the greatneſſe of a French King, as that of *Charles* the nynth, which was fifteene millions, conſidering the price of all things, and penſion of Officers enhaunced. And ſo by conſequent, the ranſome of the Sultane of Egypt, of fiue hundred thouſand *Liures*, which hee payd the Turke, not much leſſe then the three millions of

Bodin. li. 6

of Crownes, which *Francis* the first paide to *Charles* the fift.

It remaineth I speake of of the *Administration and Execution of Iustice*, and of those places and persons where and by whome it is done: I will therefore begin with their Assemblies, as the highest and greatest Court of al, which well resembleth the *Parliament* of *England*, the *Diet* of the *Empire*, or the *Counsell* of the *Amphyrthions* in *Greece*. We may say of these Assemblies of France, where matters are concluded by the multiplicitie of voyces, not by the poyze of reason, as was said of the *Romanes* elections, where the Consull propounded, and the people approoued by suffrage, or disprooued: or as the Philosopher *Anacharsis* said of *Solons* Commonwealth: *Es consultations et deliberations des Grecs, les sages proposent les matieres, et les fols les decident*: In the consultations and deliberations of the Greekes, wise men propound the matters, and fooles decide them. *Administration of Iustice.* *Assemblies.* *Plut. Solon*

There are three especiall causes of calling these Assemblies. The first, *Quand la succession à la Coronne estoit douteuse et controuerse, ou qu' il estoit necessaire de pourueoir à la Regence, durant la captiuité ou minorité des Roys, ou quand ils estoyent preclus de l' vsage de leux intendement*: When the succession of the Crowne was doubtful and in controuersie, or when it was to take order for the Regencie during the Kings captiuitie or minoritie, or when they had not the right vse of their wits. Hereof ye haue examples, Anno 1327. S. *Lewes* an infant: and *Charles* the sixt, Anno 1380. lunaticke: and 1484. *Iohn* prisoner. For all which occasions, Assemblies were called, to determine who should haue the Regencie of the Realme in the meane while. *Dern. troubl.*

Ibid. The second cause is, *Quand il est question de reformer le Royaume, corriger les abus des Officers, et Magistrats, ou appaiser les troubles et seditions:* When there is question of reforming the kingdome, correcting the abuses of Officers and Magistrates, or appeasing troubles and seditions: Hereof ye haue examples, 1412. when a peace was made between the Infants of *Orleans* & *Burgundy*, whose houses had long warred one with another, and distracted all the Nobilitie of France, to their parts taking. Also anno, 1560. when *Frances* the second called an assembly at *Orleans*, for the different of Religion: where the Prince of *Condie* was arrested, and condemned of treason, and where this young King died, before hee could see the execution. And anno, 1587. an assembly called at *Blois*, for the reformation of the State, & punishment of diuers abuses in Magistrates (as the Duke of *Guise* pretended) and for the deposing of the King, as some thought that he entended: others say, that he had here plotted to kill the King, and that the King had but the start of the Duke one day: for if he had deferred the death of the *Guise* till the next day, the lot had fallen vpon himselfe. There is a very iudicious late writer, who discoursing of this assembly at *Blois*, where the three Estates excepted against the Kings ill Gouernment, complayneth, that of late they are growne too insolent in their demaunds. Ye shall reade in our Histories of such a like Parliament as this, in England, called by *Henry* of *Derby*, against *Richard* the second.

Mr. du Fay.

Hollinshead.

Der. stroub The third cause is, *la neceßité du Roy ou royaume, où l'on exhortoit aux subsides, subuentions, aides, et octrois:* The want and necessity of the King or kingdome, in which case the Estates are exhorted to giue Subsidies, subuentions,

ons, aides, and gratuities. For in former times, the Kings contenting themselues with their Domaine, and impost of such wares, as came in, or went out of the land, (the two most ancient, and most iust grounds of Finances) were not accustomed to leuy and impose vpon their Subiects any taxe whatsoeuer, without the consent of the three States, thus assembled. They did not say, as of later yeeres *Lewes* the eleuenth was wont, *Que la France estoit vn pré qui se tondoit trois fois l'annee*: That France was a Meddowe, which hee mowed thrice a yeere. *La Noue*

The next Soueraigne Court (for so the French call it) is the Court of Parliament, *le vray temple de la Iustice Françoise: Seige du Roy et de ses Pairs*: The true temple of French Iustice: Seate of the King and his Peeres: And as *Haillan* calles it, *L'archbouttan des droicts*: the Buttresse of equitie. This Court very much resembleth the Star-Chamber of England, the *Areopage* of *Athens*, the Senate of *Rome*, the *Consiglio de' dieij* of *Venice*. *Parliaments. Com. de l'estat. Haill. li. 4.*

There are no lawes (saith *Haillan*) by which this Court is directed: it iudgeth *secundum aquum et bonũ*, according to equitie and conscience, and mitigateth the rigour of the Law: *Les nom des Parlements sont appliquez aux compagnies de Cours Souueraignes, qui cognoissoient en dernier ressort de matieres de iustice*: The names of Parliaments are giuen to the bodies of Soueraigne Courtes, which determine without appeale, in matters of Iustice. *Comm. e. 4*

Of these Courts of Parliament, ye haue eight in France. That of *Paris*, the most ancient & highest in preeminence, which at first was ambulatory (as they call it) & euer followed the K. Court, whithersoeuer it wẽt: but

since *Philip le bel*, it hath beene sedentary in this Citie.
Haill.li.3. That of *Grenoble* was erected, anno, 1453. That of *Tholouse*, anno, 1302. That of *Bourdeaux*, anno, 1443. That of *Dijon*, in the yeere 1476. That of *Rouen*, in the yeere 1501. That of *Aix*, the same yeere. And lastly, that of *Bretaigne*, in the yeere 1553. Anciently all Arch-Bishops, and Bishops might sit and giue voyces in this Parliament of *Paris*: but in 1463. it was decreed, that none but the Bishop of *Paris*, and Abbot of Saint *Denis* might sit there, except he be of the Bloud: for all these are priuiledged.

The Presidents and Councellors of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, may not depart the Towne, without leaue of the Court, by the ordinance of *Lewes* 12. in the yeere 1499. *Senatores semper adesse debent, quòd gravitatem res habet, cum frequens est ordo*: The Senators ought alwayes to be present, because things are carried with more maiestie, when that Court is full.
1.Cic.3.de legib.

To this Parliament, they appeale from all other subalterne Courts throughout the Realme, as they doe in *Venice* to the *Consiglio grande*. Neither can the King conclude any warre, or peace, without the aduice and consent hereof: or at least (as *Haillan* sayth) hee demaundeth it for fashion sake, sometimes when the matters are already concluded.
Hail.l.3.

The Parliament of *Paris* consists of seuen Chambers: the *Grande chambre*, and fiue others of Enquests: and the *Tournelles*, which is the Chamber for the criminall causes, as the other fixe be for the ciuill. It is called the *Tournelles*, because the Iudges of the other Chambers sit there by turnes, euery three moneths:
Bodin.l.4. the reason whereof *Bodin* giues, that it might not alter the

the naturall inclination of the Iudges, and make them more cruell, by being alwayes exercised in matter of condemnations, and executions. There bee of this Court, of Presidents, Councellors, Cheualliers of honour, Procureurs, Aduocates, Clerkes, Sergeants, and other Officers of all sortes, not so few as two hundred.

Besides this Court, there are also other Courtes for the administration of Iustice, in this Citie, as the *Chatellet* of *Paris*, with a Lieutenant ciuill, and another criminall, and the *Hostel de Paris*, with a Preuost, and other inferiour Officers, which is, as ye would say, the Guild Hall of the Citie. So haue ye throughout the Realme certayne places, (as all Cities in generall) where there be *Chatellets* (like our places of Assise) and in them a Lieutenant, ciuill and criminall, to iudge and determine all causes, reall, or personall, and here many Lawyers and Procurers (as are our Councellors at law, & Atturnies) who pleade before these Lieutenants, and Preuosts, and certaine Councellors, which are the Iudges in these Courts, whereof the number is incredible in France. Insomuch as ye may well say of them, as is said of *Sienna*, *There be more readers, then auditors: so here be more Pleaders thē Clients.* This *Chiquanerie* (pettifogging) & multiplicitie of pleaders, came first from the Popes Court, when his Seate was at *Auignon* (as my Author saith) who in the same place calles these Aduocates, *les Sourris de Palais*: The Mice of the Palace. These are they that *Rablais* (the true *Lucian* of France) calles *Doriphages. i. deuourers of bribes*: whose badnesse he scoffingly taxeth, where he saith, that the diuell was not chayned, till such time as he did eate fasting one morning, the soule of one of the Officers of these Courts: whereupō he was so vexed with

Courts of Chatellets

Haill. l. 3.

the Collicke (saith he) finding a worse deuill then himselfe rumbling in his belly, as there was no stirre with the collericke Marchant, till he was bound.

The processes and sutes in these Courts throughout France, are innumerable, wherein wee come nothing neere them, and yet there is no want of these in England: for I haue heard of 340. *Nisi prius* betweene parties tryed at one Assise in Norff. (as many I thinke, as in halfe England besides.) But these are only twice in the yeere, that causes are tried at Assizes in our Countrey, whereas heere they are tried euery day in the yere, that is not festiuall: So that it is not much vnlikely, that here are as many Processes in seuen yeres, as haue beene in England since the Conquest.

Ordon Henry the second. 1548.

An Aduocate must vse no iniurious words, nor superfluous: he must plead briefly, and recite summarily: hee may bee compelled by the Iudge to plead a poore mans cause without fee: Hee must be a Graduate, and haue taken the othe: He may not buy the lands in question of one of the parties: and besides many other inhibitions, he may not enter the *Plaidoye sans faire collation*: the pleading place, till he haue broken his fast: which in my opinion is needlesse, they are forward enough.

Courts of Bayliwicks and Sheriffalties.

There are besides these Courts of *Chatellets* in Cities, the Courts also of the *Bailliages & Seneschauses*; that is, of Bayliwicks and Sheriffalties, who, as *Haillan* saith, keepe Courts in eche Prouince, and iudge in all matters ciuill and criminall.

Haill. li. 3 Court of Eaus & Forrests

There is also the Court of the *Eaues et Forests*, kept at the Table of Marble in the Palaice, and infinit others, which to speake particularly of, would be very tedious, and not very necessary. I will here onely remember you

of

of the two Counſels, which I muſt confeſſe, not to haue their due place: for I ſhould haue ſpoken of them next after the Court of Parliament, or if ye will, next after the Aſſemblie.

The chiefe of theſe, as being alwayes about the King, is the *Conſeil priué*, or *des affaires*: Priuy Councell, or Councell of affaires: of theſe Counſellors (amõg which are his foure Secretaries) he calleth certaine euery morning at his riſing, to whome he communicates apart his principal and moſt importing affaires, where are read all letters which come from other Princes, and ſuch like publike buſineſſe, & after a concluſiõ what is to be done, the diſpatch thereof is committed to the Secretaries. *Priuy Councell.*

The other, is the *Grand Conſeil*, or *Conſeil d' Eſtat*: Great Councell, or Councell of Eſtate: which at firſt was, as it were, a mẽber of the Parliament, & cõſiſted of the Princes of the Bloud, & Nobility, hauing only to deale in the matters of the policy general of France, or of wars, or of the enacting & publiſhing of Edicts. But the factiõ of *Orleans* & *Burgundy*, cauſed it to be changed to a choyſe nũber of Counſellors, prouiſioned of 1000. crownes penſion apeece yerely. Of this Counſel the Chancellor is chief, for neither the King himſelf, nor any Prince of the Bloud comes there. This is the Court, of which the Frenchman ſaith, euery time it is holden, it coſts the K. 1000. crownes a day. And now, ſaith *Haillan*, hee cannot keep thẽ ſo cheape, ſo infinite is the nũber of thẽ grown. Where he alſo cõplaines, that this *Conſeil d' Eſtat*, which was wont only to determine publike affaires, as the eſtabliſhmẽt of Iuſtice, the Reglemẽt of Finances, & redreſſing of cõmon grieuãces, is now ſo charged with priuate contentions, as the glory thereof is much diminiſhed. *Grand Conſeil.*

Officers for th' execution of Iuſtice: ouer and beſides the Lieutenãts, Preuoſt-Marſhals, Preſidents, Coũſellers, Aduocats, &c. aboue named.

Ye ſhall now note in a word, the Officers that execute and adminiſter Iuſtice through France, wherein I will not be preciſe to name all, but according to the ſuperficiall courſe before taken, onely to remember the chiefeſt.

Chancellor. Haill li. 4. Mon. Regneau.

The Chancellor, anciently ſerued as a Secretary, and ſo were called in the olde Chartes of France, where he is likewiſe called the *grand Referendaire*. The Secretary doeth ſigne, and the Chancellor doeth ſeale. Some deriue this word of (*cancellare*) which *Haillan* reproueth: others of *cancellus*. *Cuias* vpon the *Code* ſayth, they be the ſame that *Quæſtores* were in time of the Empire at *Rome*. Therefore he is ſometime called *Quæſtor Iuſtitiæ, & legum cuſtos: Theſaurus famæ publicæ, & armarium legum*: The Iudge of Iuſtice, and Keeper of the Lawes, the Treaſurer of publike fame, and Store-houſe of the Lawes.

Secretary Procopius.

Secretary is the next Office, who at firſt were called Clerkes. Some old Writers call them *Tôn aporretôn Grammateaſt. Suetonius* calles them *Ab Epiſtolis* or *Emanuenſes*. They are eyther of the Finances (which haue their place among the Officers of the Finances, before remembred) or of *Affaires*, which we here ſpeake of: Of theſe are foure, which are called the principall, *Monſieur Villeroy*, *Monſieur Geuure*, *Monſieur de Freſne*, and *Monſieur de Beaulieu*.

Gouernor and Lieutenant.

Gouernours and Lieutenants generall of Cities and Prouinces, are as it were Viceroyes & Regents of thoſe places committed to them: & indeed the perſons ſuſtaining theſe charges, are much more Noble then thoſe of the Secretaries, as being for the moſt part conferd vpon the Princes of the Bloud and Peeres of France.

The

The Gouernours of Cities were in olde time called Dukes, and they of Prouinces, Counts. They were at first onely in frontier Prouinces, but now since the troubles of France, they haue had the commaund ouer Cities and Countries, euen in the middest and bowels of the Land: So that now, saith *Haillan*, France is become *Frontiere de tous costez à elle mesme*, A Frontier to it selfe on euery side. *Haill. li. 3.*

There are but few Cities, whereof anciently there were Gouernours, as *Rochell*, *Calais*, *Peronne*, *Bologne*, *Mondidier*, *Narbonne*, *Bayonne*, and two or three others: Others that had keeping of some small Castle or Fort, was onely called the Keeper, or Captayne at most. But now, sayth *Haillan*, *lib.* 4. euery paltry fellow that hath the keeping of a *Colombier*, Pigeon-house, must forsooth be called *Monsieur le Gouerneur*, My Lord the Gouernour; and my mistresse his wife, *Madame la Gouernarete*, My Lady the Gouernesse. *Haill. li. 4.*

The Gouernor of *Daulphenie* hath greatest priuiledges: for he giueth all Offices in his Prouince; in other places they can giue none, except they haue it by expresse words in their Patent. The Gouernor may not be absent aboue sixe moneths in a yere; but the Lieutenant must neuer be absent, without leaue of the Prince, except the Gouernour be present.

There is yet an Office, whereof I must remember you, which is one of the chiefest in France, either for honuor or profit, called *grand Maistre des Eauë & Forests*. All matters concerning the Kings Chases, Forests, Woods and Waters whatsoeuer, are determined by him, by the *grand M. Enquesteur*, and by the *Reformateur*, at the Table of Marble: vnder him are infinite *Maister of the Eauës and Forests.*

ſorts of Officers, as *Les Maiſtres particuliers de chaque forreſt: leurs Lieutenãts: les gruyers, les grayers, ſegrayers, maiſtres des gardes, maiſtres ſergents, gardes des marteaux, procureurs, greffiers, arpenteurs, collecteurs des amendes*, and diuers others: As the particular Maſters of each Forreſt, their Lieutenants, Ouerſeers of the ſale of woods, and the other Officers here ſpecified.

But I will not loade this ſhort Relation, with reckoning vp all the diuers and infinite ſortes of Officers, wherewith France her ſelfe ſeemeth to be ouerloaden, as partly yee haue heard alreadie: and yee ſhall reade in *Bodin*, how he complaines, not onely of the multiplicitie of Offices in generall, but alſo, that euen the Counſell of Eſtate is ſurcharged with number: where you may likewiſe obſerue, how he approues the Priuie Counſel of England erected ſome foure hundred and odde yeeres ſince, where are neuer, ſaith he, aboue twentie, *by whoſe ſage direction the Land hath long flouriſhed, en armes et loix*: In armes and lawes. And for the execution of Lawes, and adminiſtration of Iuſtice, yee may remember what hath beene ſaid before, that the Lawes are good and iuſt, but they be not, *iuſtement exercez*, iuſtly executed. Where *Haillan* comparing the times, *Alors* (ſaith he) *on puniſſoit les grands: depuis on n' a puny que les petits, et les grands demeurent impunis*, Then great ones were puniſhed, but ſince, onely petty fellowes, and the great ones goe ſcot-free. So that now, the Lawes of France are become like Spiders webbes, which onely catch the little Flies, and the great ones breake thorowe,

Bodin. l. 3.

Haill. li. 2.

Plut. Solen

Dat veniam Coruis, vexat cenſura Columbas.

Iuuenal.

Th'en-

Th'enſnaring Lawes let Crowes goe free,
While ſimple Doues entangled bee.

Hauing now related of the *Topographie* and *Policy* of France, it remayneth I ſpeake ſomewhat of the *Oeconomy*, that is, of the people of France, compriſed vnder the three Eſtates, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and Comminalty: of the ſeuerall humour, profeſſion, and faſhion of each of them, which is the third and laſt branch of this Relation.

His Clergie

The Church Gallicane, is holden the beſt priuiledged of all thoſe of Chriſtendome, that haue not yet quit their ſubiection to the *Pope*. It hath alwayes proteſted againſt the Inquiſition; it is more free from payments to the *Pope*, then the Church of Spaine, as alſo to the King: for here in France they onely pay the *Diſme*: but in Spaine, the King hath his *Tertias*, *ſubſidio*, *pila*, and *Eſcuſado*: in all, a moytie of the Church liuing. Indeede it is reported of this Catholike King, that hee hath founded many Abbies and Religious houſes: but what ſaith his Subiect? *Hee ſtealeth the ſheepe, and giues the Tratters for Gods ſake.* *Hiſp. cuinſdam.*

In this Church of France are twelue Archbiſhopprickes, one hundred and foure Biſhopprickes, fiue hundred and fortie Archpriories, one thouſand foure hundred and fiftie Abbies: twelue thouſand three hundred and twentie Priories, fiue hundred ſixtie ſeuen Nunneries, one hundred and thirtie thouſand Pariſh Prieſts, ſeuen hundred conuents of Friers, and two hundred fiftie nine Cõmendams of the order of the Knights of *Malta*. There are, ſaith the (*Cabinet du Roy*) three millions of people that liue vpon the Church of France: where hee particularly ſetteth downe in each Dioceſſe, *Bodin, li. 5* *Cabinet du Roy.*

the number of all sortes of Religious people, as also the number of their Whores, Bawds, Bastards, and seruants of all sortes: And why not? (sayth hee) as well as the Magicians vndertake in their Inuentory of the Diabolique Monarchy, to set downe the names and surnames of 76. Princes, and seuen millions, foure hundred and fiue thousand, nine hundred, twenty and sixe diuels?

The temporall liuings of the Church.

The Church hath, for all this rabble, to liue vpon, these two things: First, her temporall Reuenues, and secondly, her Spirituall, which they call the *baise-mani*. Of her temporall Reuenues, diuers men iudge diuersly.

The *Cabinet*, who in all his computations makes of a Mouse, an Elephant, saith, that they are fourescore millions of Crownes the yeere, besides the *baise-mani*, which is as much more, and besides an infinite prouision which they reserue, and is paid them ouer and except their Rents, by their Farmers and Tenants; as of Wheat, foure millions, fiue hundred thousand *septiers*, quarters: of Rye, two millions, three hundred thousand *septiers*, quarters: of Oates, nine hundred thousand: of Barly, eight hundred thousand: of Pease and Beanes, eight hundred sixty thousand: Capons, one hundred sixty thousand: Hennes, fiue hundred sixty thousand: Partridge, fiue hundred thousand: Beeues, twelue thousand: Muttons, one million two hundred thousand: Wine, one million two hundred thousand *cuues*: Egges, seuen millions: Butter, two hundred thirty thousand *quintaux*: Cheese, fiue hundred thousand: Hogges, one hundred thirty sixe thousand: Pigges, three hundred forty thousand: Tallowe, sixty thousand *quintaux*: Hey, sixe hundred thousand loades: Straw,

Straw, eight hundred thouſand: Wood, two millions: with an infinite proportion of other neceſſaries, imaginary onely, and incredible. And yet he there avoweth al things, with as great confidence, as if himſelfe had had the true abſtract from all the Bookes of Accounts in each Monaſtery and Benefice in this land. For how is it poſſible the Church ſhould haue two hundred millions of Crownes yeerely rent, when as by the computation, here are but iuſt ſo many Arpens of land in all France: which to rate one with another, at a crowne an Arpen, comes to this account, which hee allowes the Clergy, and then is there nothing left for the other two States, of the Nobilitie and people?

But in as much as the better halfe of their Reuenue is by the *batſe-mani*, there remaineth the better halfe of the land to the other two States: which notwithſtanding is a proportion ſmall ynough.

Neere vnto this reckoning, commeth that which we reade in *Bodin*, of *Alemant*, a preſident of accounts in *Paris*, whoſe iudgement muſt cary good authority in this caſe, as a thing belonging to his profeſſion, and wherein he was beſt experienced: The Church Reuenues in land, are reckoned ordinarily, at twelue millions and three hundred thouſand *liures*: but I dare iuſtifie (ſaith hee) that of twelue partes of the Reuenues of France, the Church poſſeſſe ſeuen. *Bodin. li. 5*

This opinion *Bodin* ſeemes to allowe: But it is rather thought to be true, that the *Comment de l'eſtat* ſaith, who of the two hundred millions of Arpens, allowes the Church forty ſeuen millions, which by particulars of their Vineyards, Meddowes, Arable, Paſtures, and Heathes, with their woods, is there ſet downe: which

here to followe in particular, were too tedious.

The ſpirituall liuings.

Beſides this temporall, they haue their *Baiſe-mani* (as is ſaid) that conſiſteth in Churchings, Chriſtnings, Marriages, Burials, Holy-bread, Indulgences, Vowes, Pilgrimages, Feaſts, Proceſſions, Prayers for cattell, for ſeaſonable weather, for children, againſt all maner of diſeaſes, and infinite ſuch purpoſes; for which the ſuperſtitious people will haue a Maſſe ſaid, which they pay the Prieſt for, particularly: ouer and beſides all this, there is ſcarce that Arpen in all France, vpon which there is not ſome *Dirige*, or *de profundis*, ſome *libera me, Domine*, or ſome reckoning or other, liable.

This ſort of people are they, whoſe life is onely ſpent in ſpeculation, and their ſpeculation ſuch (as appeareth by their liues) as that of *Guido Cauale.* whereof *Boccace* ſpeaketh, *Queſte ſue ſpeculatiory erano ſolo ns cercare, ſe trouarſi poteſſe che Iddio non fuſſe:* Theſe his ſpeculations were onely ſpent in ſeeking, whether he could finde that there was no God. Theſe are they, of whome *La Noüe* ſpeaketh, when he ſheweth the three cauſes of the miſeries of France, which he findeth in the three States: Irreligion in thoſe that make profeſſion of Religion: Oppreſſion in the Nobleſſe: And diſſolution of maners in the Comminaltie. For (ſaith he) *Impieté ruine les conſcienſes: Iniuſtice renuerſe les Eſtats: Diſſolution gaſte les familles*: Impiety ruineth mens conſciences: Iniuſtice ouerthroweth the Common-Wealth: And Diſſolution marreth particular families.

Boccacio. Nouella. 9 Giornat 6

La Noüe.

The reformed Religion.

Concerning them of the Reformed Religion, whom here in contempt they call *Huguenots*, yee may note, that the number is not ſmall, conſidering that after the conference of *Poiſſie*, aboue thirty yeres ſince, here were found

2150.

2150. Churches of them, whereof not one hath escaped without some murthers, or massacres: and wee may imagine, that since that time, this number is much encreased.

Some say, they had the name of *Huguenots*, of the words wherewith they began their Oration, when they protested against the Church of *Rome*, which began thus, *Huc nos venimus, &c.* Hither we are come, &c. As they say, the *Wallons* were called of these words, *ou allons nous?* whither go we? when they were driuen out of their owne country, asking one another whither they should go. But this is not so likely as that of them; who say, that in *Toures* where they first began, there is one of the Gates, called *Hugoes Port*, out of which they of the Religion vsed to passe into the fields, to make their prayers in their priuate assemblies: whereupon they had first the name: for, that one *Hugo* should be the first of that opinion, is generally reiected.

I shall not need to say in this place, that this difference in Religion, of these *Catholicks*, and *Huguenots*, is cleere from the slaunder which many lay vpon them, they being the occasion of all these late troubles in France: for it hath beene sufficiently already proued, that the ambition of the house of *Guise*, and the parts-taking with them, and those other of *Burbon*, is guilty thereof.

As for Religion, it hath onely beene the cloke, and shaddowe of their ambitious pretences, without the which, they could neuer haue insinuated themselues so farre into the hearts of the people, who are alwayes the *gros de la bataille*: The maine Battell: and without whome the Nobilitie may well quarrell, but they cannot fight.

Comment. de l' Eſt. And therefore ye ſhall read in ſome of the ſame Religion reformed, *That there were Hugnenots, as well of Eſtate, as of Religion.*

Theſe haue now free permiſſion to profeſſe, and places allotted for exerciſe, with all liberty of Conſcience poſſible, ſaue that in the chiefe Cities of France they haue no Churches allowed, neyther can be buried in Chriſtian buriall (as they call it) if any of them dye among the Catholicks, with whome notwithſtanding they now liue peaceably, throughout the Countrey. They cannot haue the fauour that *Xantippus* allowed his Dogge, who (as *Plutarch* ſayth) for following his maſter from *Atticque* to *Salamine*, and there dying, was ſolemnly interred, and had a monument raiſed ouer the place. And me thinks, they haue heere ſmall reaſon to let them liue together in a houſe, and not to ſuffer them to lye together in a Church-yard.

Plut. The miſt.

But as for warring any longer for Religion, the Frenchman vtterly diſclaymes it, hee is at laſt growne wiſe, marry, he hath bought it ſomewhat deare: *L'Italien eſt ſage deuant la main, l'Alemant ſur le faict & le François, apres le coup*: The Italian is wiſe before hand; the Almayne, in the doing; and the French, after the thing is done, ſaith one of their owne Writers. *Ictus piſcator ſapit.*

Comment. de l' Eſt.

His Nobleſſe. Concerning the Nobility of France, *Elle eſt* (ſayth *La Noüe*) *tres valleureuſe & courtoiſe: & n'y a Eſtat en la Chreſtiente, ou elle ſoit en ſi grand nombre*: They are exceeding valorous and courteous; and there is no State in Chriſtendome, where they are in ſo great number.

It hath bene argued before in this Relation, that there be at leaſt fifty thouſand, able to beare Armes: but that

is

is thought with the moſt. *Monſieur du Fay* thinkes them about thirtie thouſand: in which number, yee muſt conclude all degrees of Gentlemen, from the higheſt to the loweſt that beare Armes: for ſo the French call their *Nobleſſe*, whereas we in England make two diſtinct orders of the Nobilitie and Gentry (as they call it) *Nobiles ſunt, ſi modo longam annorum ſeriem numerare poſſunt, qua feudum omnſq; militiæ eis annexum, in ſua familia reſederit*: Thoſe are Noble, which can proue a long tract of time, wherein a Fee and Knights ſeruice thereto belonging, hath recided in their family. And another Writer ſayth, *In Gallia Nobiles æſtimantur ex genere & vita militari*: In France men are eſteemed noble, by blood, and profeſſion of Armes.

Du Fay.

Conſt. Neap

And ſure, if there be difference in Nobilitie, as there muſt needes bee, becauſe the cauſes bee different; for ſome are ennobled by their valour and Martiall knowledge, and others by their Offices and prudence in the manage of matters of Eſtate: I ſee no reaſon, but that theſe laſt ſhould be holden the more noble Nobilitie, if I may ſo ſay: alwayes giuing the firſt place to them that are of Noble houſes by Race.

For of all theſe three ſorts the French writers ſpeake, when they ſay: *Il y a difference des Nobles*: 1. *Les vns par race*, 2. *Les autres par annobliſſement: et deux ſortes d' annobliſſement*: *les vns ſont annoblis par lettres deuement verefies en la Cour de Parlement, les autres par le moyen aes offices dont ils ſont pourueus*. There is a difference of Nobles: The firſt, by Race: The ſecond, by ennobling: and of Ennobling there are two ſorts: One, by Patent duely prooued in the Court of Parliament: The other, by meanes of Offices to which they are aduanced.

Cuias de feud.

Turq. hist. Spag. And howsoeuer *Turquet* hereof inferreth, that it is *la vertu que fait la Noblesse, car il y a de nobles vilains, et de vilains nobles*: Vertue which makes Nobilitie, for, there are noble Peasants, and peasantly Nobles. Yet sure it is, that the degenerating of one from the vertue of his Ancestors, cannot preiudice the Nobilitie, nor eclips the glory of his succeeder, who, as Histories shew, many times excell all the former of their house.

Peeres of France. The highest degree of honour in France, is the *Pairrie*, in which order haue beene, sometimes 7. sometimes 11. neuer aboue seuenteene, and most commonly 12. Whereupon they are called the *Twelue Peeres of France*. These haue the precedence before al the rest of the Nobilitie, and of these, they of the Bloud, although they *Hall. li. 3.* were latest called into the *Pairrie*. Of these Peeres, there be sixe of the Clergy: 1. Archbishop & Duke of *Rhemes*. 2. Bishop and Duke of *Laon*. 3. Bishop and Duke of *Langres*. 4. Bishop and Comte of *Beauuais*. 5. Bishop and Comte of *Noyon*. 6. Bishop and Comte of *Chaalons*.

Of temporall, 1. Duke of *Burgundie*. 2. Duke of *Normandie*. 3. Duke of *Guyenne*. 4. Comte of *Tholouse*. 5. Comte of *Champagne*. 6. Comte of *Flanders*. Since these were first instituted, many other houses haue beene admitted into the *Pairrie*, by the Kings of France, and the olde worne out: As to them of *Burgundie* and *Flanders*, were added the Dukes of *Bretagne*, *Burbon*, *Aniow*, *Berry*, *Orleans*, the Comtes of *Arthois*, *Eureux*, *Alençon*, *Estampes*, all of the Bloud in *Charles* the fiftes time.

Since also, in the times of *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, haue new *Pairries* beene erected, as *Neuers*, *Vandosme*,

Vandosme, Guise, Monpensier, Beaumont, Albret, Aumal, Memorency, Vzes, Pentheur, Mercoeur, Ioieuse, Espernon, Rets, Monbason, Vantadowre, and others.

Yee must obserue, that the fiue ancientest *Pairries* of the temporaltie, are returned to the Crowne, the sixt which is of Flanders, doth recognize it no longer, as now being Spanish.

Some say, these *Paires* (*quasi pares inter se*) as much as equal among thēselues, were first erected by *Charlemagne*: others, by *Hugh Capet*, & others (which is holden for the truest) by *Lewes le ieune*, 1179. to ayd and assist the K. in his Councill (saith *Bodin.*) And therefore this Session of the King with his *Paires*, was called *Le Parlement sans quenë*: The Parliament with addition: as the Kings brothers and sisters are called *Monsieur*, and *Madame sans quenë*: Whereas all other soueraigne Courts are named with an addition, as *Le Parlement de Paris: le Parl. de Rouen, &c.* *Tillet.* *Bodin. l. 3.*

Yee may also obserue, that they of the Laity haue the right hand of the King, and the Clergie the left, in all assemblies or solemne Sessions whatsoeuer.

I thinke, this diuision of the *Pairrie*, into these 2. sorts, was deriued from that ancient order of the *Gaules*, of whome *Cæsar* speaketh, *Gallorum Nobilium genera duo, Druides, Equites*: Of the Nobilitie of *Gallia*, are two sorts, the Druides, and Gentlemen: Where he likewise discourseth of their diuers Offices. *Cesar. Comment. l. 6.*

This honour of *Paire* of France, was at first giuen for life only, afterwards for them and their heires males, and lastly, to the women also, for default of Males:

Bern. tron. who likewise are called to sit in Councils and assemblies (as are the Queenes of France) as at the Assembly at Blois, and at the Arrest of *Counte de Clermont*, in the time of *S. Lewes*, where the *Counteſſe* of *Flanders* is named present among the other Peeres.

Priuiledged. *Haill. li. 3.* Yee must note, that Peeres and Princes of the blood, *Ont priuilege de n'eſtre point ſubiects à la cire verte, ſi non au cas du premier chef de leze Maieſté:* They be priuiledged from being subiect to any Writ, or Proceſſe, but in case of high Treason: and then also no Proceſſe can be commenced against them, before any other Iudges whatsoeuer, *Sig. du Planche.* *que par le Roy ſeant en ſa Court de Parlement ſuffiſamment garnie des Paires de France:* But by the King sitting in his Court of Parliament, sufficiently assisted by the Peeres of France. All other Iudges are incompetent.

But to leaue the discourse of this higheſt honour in France, and to speake of the *Nobleſſe* in generall, ye shall reade in Hiſtorie, that at the end of the second Race of Kings, they began to take their surnames of their principall *Feifs*: Since when, of later yeeres, some haue contrarily put their surnames vpon their *Feifs*, which *Haill. li. 3.* hath so confounded the *Nobleſſe* (saith *Haillan*) as it is now hard to finde out the ancient and true Nobilitie.

Vnlettred La Noue. These are they, among whome the prouerbe is still currant, *Vn homme de guerre ne deuoit ſçauoir, ſi non eſcrire ſon nom:* A man of War should haue no more learning, but to bee able to write his owne name: And therefore their profeſſion is only Armes & good horsemanship, wherein if they haue attained any perfection, they little eſteeme other vertues, not caring what the Philosopher *Plutarch.* saith, *Vne ſeule anchre n'eſt par ſuffiſante pour tenir ferme vne grande nauire:* One onely Anchor is not sufficient to hold

hold a great Ship. Nor considering that the olde Gallants of the world were wont to ioyne the one with the other: and ancient Painters were accustomed to paint the Muses altogether in a troup, to signify, that in a Noble man they should not be parted.

Bodin sayth, it is reported of *Cato Censorius*, that hee was a valiant Captayne, a sage Senator, an vpright Iudge, and a great Scholler. The world reputes *Cæsar* to haue beene a Politician, an Historian, an Orator, a Warrior, excellent in all. The Poet of Greece sayth, that *Agamemnon* was *Amphontros basileus tò agathos, cratotros tò aichmetes*: that is, a good Gouernor, and a tall Soldier. And the Italian Poet sayth of his great Captayne, *Non so se miglior Duca o Caualliero*:

Bodin.

Homer.

Dante.

Resolue I cannot whether he,
A better Chiefe, or Soldier be.

Iust the same with that other verse of *Homer*. And our most worthy English, not Poet (though he well deserue the title) but Captayne and Scholler, both excellent, and titles which better become the nobleness of his heart and house, of whome the world hath the good name, and all Soldiers the losse: he, I say, when hee would commend his Arcadian Gallant to the full, and yet in few words, sayth, that *he durst and knew*: which well symbolizeth with those former commendations of others, and compriseth all requisit vertues in a Gentleman: for if he haue not valour to dare, and wisdome to know how and when, he wanteth one of the principall supporters of his honour.

Sir Philip Sydney.

The former of these, is, as it were, hereditary to many Noble houses, & continueth therein many descents; but the other is not naturall; it is gotten by studie and

exercise, by reading bookes, and seeing of Countries, and therein curiously obseruing what yee see. So then, if by this your trauell, you adde knowledge and vnderstanding to that other vertue, which is hereditary to your house, you shall resemble those your Ancestors, by whome it hath beene raised to this greatnesse, and be most vnlike this French Nobilitie (that this may not seeme a digression) of whome, for the most part, we may say, as *Plato* said of *Cleophantus*, *Il estait bien bon homme d' armes, mais au demeurant il n' auoit rien de bon*: Hee was a very tall man at armes, but he had no good quality besides.

Plut. Themist.

And sure, it is a lamentable case, or at least, misbeseeming, in a goodly Countrey, and full of Nobilitie, that the State should be gouerned, and all matters managed by them of the *robba longa*, Aduocates and Procureurs, and Penne & Inkehorne Gentlemen, and the Noblesse themselues for want of learning, not to haue imployment. I count him therefore a very lame Gentleman, that cannot go to serue his Countrey both in peace and warre.

La Nouē.

Saith *La Nouē* to a Gallant in Court, that was euer talking of warres, and making *Hidalgo*-like Rhodomontades, as being vnfit to talke of any matter of learning, or vndertake any Office of gouernment: *Sir* (saith hee) *when the time of warre is come, it is like ye shall be imployed, meane while, hauing no qualitie fit for this time of peace, you shall doe well, to locke your selfe vp till the warres, that yee bee not rusty when you should be vsed.*

The occasion of this French humour, so much to esteeme Armes, and nothing at all to regard learning, or it may be oftentimes to contemne both, is imputed

to

to the careleſſe indulgence of Parents, by *Commines*, *Ils nouriſſent leurs enfants ſeulement à faire les ſots, en habillements & en parolles: de nulle lettre ils n'ont cognoiſſance*: They bring vp their children onely to play the fondlings both in apparell and words, but of learning they haue no knowledge at all. *Commines.*

And therefore they cannot communicate with *P. Aemilius*, in the commendation which *Plutarch* giues him, *Il ne tenoit ſeulement de picqueurs & dompteurs des cheuaux, mais auſſi des Maiſtres de Grammaire, de Rhetorique, & Dialectique, &c.* He kept not onely Riders and Horſe-breakers, but alſo Teachers of Grammer, Rhetoricke and Logicke, &c. And whereas the firſt inſtruction of the Nobility, ſhould be, as one ſayth, *La Religion, la vertu, les lettres, les Arts*, Religion, Vertue, learning, and the Artes: And then, *L'Eſcuyrie, l'Eſcrime, la venerie, la Fauconerie*: Horſemanſhip, Fencing, Hunting, Hawking: they ſkip the firſt forme, and ſpend all their time in the practiſe of the laſt: they prize at a high rate the leſſer, & let paſſe the more worthy. Much like thoſe Strangers in *Rome*, that carried young Whelps and Monkeys in their armes to play withall: What, ſaith *Caſar*, doe theſe mens wiues beare them no children? wiſely taxing the folly of thoſe, that leaue the better for the worſe. *Plut. Aemilius.* *Turquet.*

Hereof it commeth, that the French Nobleſſe glorying in their Armes, call themſelues, *Le bras de la patrie, les gardiens des armes, & la terreur des ennemys: mais iamais ne ſ'appellent les profeſſeurs de vertu*, ſaith *la Noüe*: The Arme of their countrey, the Gardians of Armes, and terror of their enemies; but they neuer ſtile themſelues the Profeſſors of vertue.

Du Fay. This Estate of the Nobility, sayth one, is *Le moindre en nombre des hommes, le moins riche de tous les trois Estats*: of all the three Estates, the smallest in number of men, and poorest in liuing. Which no question must needs be true, after so long a ciuill Warre: and heerewith accordeth he that wrote the late troubles: sayth hee, *La Noblesse Françoise est decheue de ses anciennes richesses, dont leurs maisons estoyent ornees sous les regus du Lois* 12. *& François* 1. The French Nobleſſe is fallen from their ancient wealth, wherewith they were adorned in the times of Lewes 12. and Francis the first. To this purpose sayth *La Noüe*, *Ie oserois affermer, que si tous ceux qui portent ce titre estoyent en dix parts on trouueroit que les huict sont incommodez par alienations de leurs biens, engagements, ou autres debts*: I durst affirme, that if all they that beare this Title, were deuided into ten partes, eyght of them are impayred by Sales, Morgages, or other debts.

Dern. troubl.

La Noüe.

The same Authour yeeldeth fiue reasons of the pouerty of the Nobleſſe of France. 1. *Les guerres ciuiles*. 2. *depenses superflues en habits*. 3. *depenses en meubles*. 4. *depenses in bastiments*. 5. *depenses de bouche & grosse traine*: First, the ciuill warres. Secondly, superfluous expences in aparrel. Thirdly, houshold stuffe. Fourthly, building. Fiftly, Diet and Followers. And in another place, taxing the extreme prodigality, and superfluity of the French in their aparrell, building, and diet, hee sayth, *Si les guerres nous ont apporté 4. onces de pauureté, nos follies nous en ont acquis douze*: If the Warres haue brought vs foure ounces of pouerty, our owne follies haue gotten vs twelue. I will not herein be mine owne Iudge (sayth he) but let vs doe as players at Tennise, be

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iudged by all the lookers on, and they will confeſſe, that by theſe exceſſiue expences, *bon nombre de la Nobleſſe vont au pas, les autres au trot, et pluſieurs en poſte, droict aux precipices de pauureté*: A great number of the Nobleſſe go a foot-pace, others trot, and many runne poſte to the downefals of pouertie.

You had an example hereof in this your late voyage downe the Riuer of *Loire*, at the Caſtle of *Bury*, a very goodly houſe, as any ye haue yet ſeene in France, where ye heard it credibly reported, that *Monſieur D'alloye*, the owner of that place, had conſumed aboue twentie thouſand Crownes Reuenue the yeere, onely in dyet and apparrell, who now is forced to make his owne houſe his priſon, and ſtand watchfully vpon his gard, for feare of Sergeants, as we well perceiued by his ielouzy of vs, when we came to ſee his houſe, vntil he was aſſured that we were ſtrangers, and came for no ſuch purpoſe.

Theſe three at this preſent, are reputed the richeſt in all France, the D. *Monpenſier* in lands, the D. *d' Eſpernon* in Offices, and the Chancellor in money.

I ſhould in this relation of the French Nobilitie, doe them great wrong, to beleeue and report for truth, what the *Cabinet du Roy*, one of their owne Countrey, ſaith of them, who according to the ſeuerall Prouinces, giueth them ſeuerall Epithites. *Cab. du roy.*

The Nobleſſe of *Berry* (ſaith he) are *Paillards*, leachers: ,,
they of *Tourraine*, are *voleurs*, theeues: they of *Guyenne*, ,,
Coyners: they of *Tholouſe*, Traytors: they of *Narbonne*, ,,
couetous: they of *Prouence*, Atheiſts: they of *Lionnois*, ,,
treacherous: they of *Rheimes*, ſuperſtitious: they of ,,
Normandy, inſolent: they of *Picardie*, proud: and ſo forth ,,
of the reſt. ,,

I will do them more right, and conclude of them, that for priuiledge, and nobleneſſe of Race, they may compare with any Nobilitie of Chriſtendome. For proofe of the firſt, *Le Prince ne prendrien ſur luy, que le ſeruice de l'eſpee.* The King hath nothing of his Nobleſſe, but Sword-ſeruice. And for the ſecond, ſaith another Authour: *La Nobleſſe Françoiſe eſt compoſee de ſi illuſtres maiſons, qu'il ſ'en trouue, vne douzaine qui viennent de droicte ligne de Roys, qui ont poſſe de paiſiblement royaumes:* The French Nobleſſe is compoſed of ſo famous houſes, that there are a douzin of them deſcended by right line from Kings, that haue peaceably poſſeſſed Kingdomes.

Monſ. du Fay.

Com. de l'Eſtat.

Hauing briefely ſpoken of the two firſt Eſtates of France, the *Clergie* and *Nobilitie*: It laſtly remaineth I ſpeake of the *People* in general, and namely, of their freeneſſe of ſpeech, maner of diet, kindes of building, ſortes of exerciſe, faſhion of apparell, diuerſitie of language, ſuddainneſſe of apprehending, raſhneſſe in executing, impatience in deliberation, and diuers other natures and humours proper to the Frenchmen; wherein yee ſhall not looke for a methodicall and large diſcourſe, but a briefe and compendious remembrance of ſuch things, as I haue read and obſerued in this Nation.

His People.

It is incredible to beleeue, and odious to heare, how the Frenchman will talke, and impudently vtter what hee fooliſhly conceiueth, not onely of all forraine States and Princes of the world, but euen of their owne State and King himſelfe; of whome hee will not ſpare to ſpeake whatſoeuer hee heareth, and ſometimes alſo more then the trueth; which inſufferable vice of theirs, I heere put in the firſt place, becauſe I holde it of all others the moſt diſloyall and vnlawfull. Here-

Their liberty of ſpeach.

of

of the wiſeſt ſort of them much complaine, & wiſh reformation: but it is a thing ſo familiar and naturall with them, as —— *Expellas furca licet vſq; recurret.* *Horace.*

Le Duc d' Eſpernõ (ſaith one Author) *ſe plaignoit de debordemens de ce ſiecle, et de l' infame licence des François: à detracter de leur prince:* Duke *d' Eſpernon* complained of the diſorders of the time, and of the infamous libertie of the French, in detracting from their Prince. *Dern. wonbl.*

This infamous and diſſolute libertie of theirs, deſerueth to bee cenſured and chaſtiſed by ſome ſeuere *Cato*, or to be puniſhed as thoſe inſolent Souldiers of *Aemilius*, of whome *Plutarch* maketh mention. *Plut. Aemilius.*

Boccace in his deſcription of Frier *Onion* his man, reckoneth vp nine of his principall qualities, whereof the firſt is due to the Frenchman, as appeareth by this which hath already beene ſaid, *Maldicente, diſabediente, negligente, traſcurato, ſmemorato, ſcoſtumato: ſogliardo, bugiardo, tardo*: Firſt, rayling: ſecondly, diſobedient: thirdly, negligent: fourthly, rechleſſe: fiftly, forgetful: ſixtly, vnmanerly: ſeuenthly, ſlouenly: eightly, lying: and ninthly, ſlow: And I beleeue, by that time ye haue read this whole diſcourſe, yee will bate him but the laſt Ace of them all. For, that propertie of ſlowneſſe, I muſt needes confeſſe, no way is due to the French.

He hath beſides this libertie of ſpeaking, a propertie incident to ſuch like natures: namely, an inquiſitiue liſtning and hearkning after newes, which is an olde faſhion of theirs, & hath continued with them many hundred yeres. *Their hearkening after newes.*

Eſt autẽ hoc Gallica conſuetudinis, vt & viatores etiam inuitos conſiſtere cogant, & quod quiſq; eorum de quaq; re audierit aut cognouerit querãt: & Mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumſiſtat, quibus ex regionibus veniãt quaſq; res ibi *Cæſar. Comment. l. 4.*

cognouerint pronunciare cogant: et his rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt: quorum eos è vestigio pœnitere est necesse: It is vsuall with all the *Gaules*, both to constraine trauellers (though vnwilling) to stay, and to enquire of each of them, what hee hath heard or vnderstood of euery matter: and with the populace in Townes, to flocke about Marchants, and compell them to tell from what parts they come, and what newes they heard there: and led by these rumours and heare-sayes, they determine many times of most weighty affaires, of which determinations they must needes eftsoones repent them.

Id. l. 7.

This vice of his, *Cæsar* taxeth in another place, where he saith, *Temeritas, quæ maximè illi hominum generi conuenit, vt leuem auditionem habeant pro re comperta*: It is a rashnesse familiar with that sort of people, to take a light heare-say, for an assured truth.

Their maner of Diet.

Concerning the French diet, it is, to keepe no diet: for they feede at all times, there being among them very few, which besides their ordinary of dinner and supper, do not *gouster*, as they call it, and make collations, three or foure times the day, a thing as vsuall with the women as men, whome ye shall see in open streetes before their dores, eate and drinke together. No maruell therefore, though the *Italian* cals them the onely gourmands: And no lesse reason haue we to note their disordinate feeding, then *Commines* had to taxe our nation of drinking, who saith of vs, that he entred into a Tauerne in *Amiens*, to obserue the English mans fashion, *on ja auoient esté faictes cent et vnze escots, et n'estoit pas encore neuf heures du matin*: Where had beene already made CXI. seuerall shots, and yet it was not then 9. a clocke in the morning:

Commines

morning: For it was no great wonder to haue ſo many ſhots (as we call them) or reckonings in a morning, where there were fiue thouſand Engliſh Soldiers in the towne, who were newly come from the Campe, where they endured much want, and entertayned with all kindneſſe into the towne, vpon a finall peace made betweene our King *Edward* the fourth, and theirs, *Lewes* the eleuenth.

But wee may pay *Commines* with his owne coyne, and reply, that a Frenchman of all other (except the Dutch) hath leaſt cauſe to taxe vs of drinking: for we may ſee by many of their noſes, what pottage they loue; and they haue among them, a Prouerbe of their Prieſts (whom it worſe beſeemeth then a Soldier) when they will note a matter of difficulty, *Il y a plus de difficulté, qu' a tirer vn Preſtre de village de la Tauerne*: Tis a harder matter, then to draw a Countrey Prieſt from the Tauerne.

A Frenchman therefore of all others, hath leaſt reaſon to finde fault with drinkers,

Quis tulerit Graubos de ſeditione querentes? *Iuuenal.*

O who can keepe his patience, when
Poore Herringman ſcornes Fiſhermen?

The French faſhion (as you ſee dayly) is to larde all meats, whoſe prouiſion ordinary is not ſo plentifull as ours, nor his table ſo well furniſhed: howbeit, in banquets they farre exceed vs; for he is as *friand* (licouriſh) as the Trencher-men of *Media*, or *Aeſope* the Tragedian, who ſpent fifteene thouſand Crownes at one feaſt, in the toungs of Birds onely. He liueth not like the Italian, with roots chiefly and herbes: nor like the Lacedemonian, *qui porte le poit raſé, iuſques au cuir, ſe baigne en eau* *Plut. Lycurg.*

eau froid, mange du pain bis, hume du brouët noir: That weares his haire ſhauen cloſe to his skin, bathes himſelfe in cold water, eats browne bread, and ſuppes blacke broth. Nor like the Scythian, who ſayth, *Mihi pulpamentum fames, cubile ſolum, veſtis ferarum cutis:* Hunger is my beſt cheere; the ground my bed; beaſts skinnes, my clothing. But rather of *Alcibiades*, of whome *Plutarch* reporteth, *Eſtoit trop delicat en ſon viure, diſſolu en amours de folles femmes, deſordoné en banquets, trop ſuperflu & effemine en habits:* He was ouer-delicate in his diet, diſſolute in loue of wanton women, exceſſiue in banquets, and ouer-ſuperfluous and effeminate in apparell.

Plut. Alcib.

As for the poore *Paiſant*, he fareth very hardly, and feedeth moſt vpon bread and fruits, but yet hee may comfort himſelfe with this, that though his fare be nothing ſo good, as the ploughmans, and poore Artificers in England, yet is it much better then that of the *villano* in Italy.

Their Building.

Of the French building, I haue ſpoken before in the Relation of *Paris*, both that it is lately growne to bee more magnificent, then it was in former times, and that many thereby haue much weakened their eſtate.

You may therefore obſerue, that as I there ſayd, the City of *Paris* was better built then that of *London*: ſo are in generall, all the Cities and villages in France, fairer then ours in England, comparing the one with the other; which the fairer they were, the more miſerable ſpectacle doe they yeeld to vs now, to ſee them in many places defaced and ruined.

As for the maner of building heere, how beautifull ſoeuer it bee to the eye, the Offices and roomes, mee thinks,

thinks, are not ſo well contriued as ours, to the vſe. One thing there is, by which they are much beautified, namely, the blewiſh kinde of Tyle, which heere they haue in great quantity, the which is very hard, and therefore durable; and very thinne and light, and therefore not ſo burthenſome to a houſe, as is our Tyle in England.

Concerning the Frenchmans Apparell, if ye wel obſerue that of the Citizen, both men and women, it is very ſeemly and decent: that of the *Paiſant*, very poore, all whoſe apparell for the moſt part, is of lynnen: As for that of the Nobleſſe, ye ſhall heare what *La Noüe* ſaith, *Les deſpenſes de la Nobleſſe en leurs habits ſont exceſſiues, & fort riches*: The Nobleſſe in their expence in apparell, are exceſſiue and very rich. And yet, mee thinkes, nothing ſo rich and coſtly as ours; the only exceſſe whereof, is the greateſt preiudice and hindrance to the Common wealth, and publike benefite of our countrey. *Their Apparell.* *La Noüe.*

This Authour reproueth two things in the French apparrell. Firſt, that euery Gallant forſooth, muſt haue many ſuits at once, and change often in the yeere: and therefore (ſayth hee) if in the Court they ſpie one in a ſute of the laſt yeres making, they ſcoffingly ſay, *Nous le cognoiſſons bien, il ne nous mordra pas, c'eſt vn fruit ſuranné*: We know him well enough, he wil not hurt vs, hee's an Apple of the laſt yeere. *Id.*

The ſecond thing he diſlikes, is this, that *De deux ans en deux ans les façons changent*: Euery two yere the faſhion changeth. And heereof it commeth, that when ye ſee all other Nations paynted in the proper habit of their Countrey, the French man is alwayes pictured

with a paire of ſheeres in his hand, to ſignify, that hee hath no peculiar habit of his own, nor contenteth himſelfe long with the habit of any other, but according to his cappriccious humour, deuiſeth daily new faſhions.

La Nouë. This variety of faſhions a man may well note in the Fripperies of *Paris*, whereof ſayth *la Nouë*, if one would make a purtreict in a table, *rien ne ſe pourrit voir plus plaiſant*: It would bee the moſt ſportfull thing that may bee.

Their exerciſes. I am now by order to ſpeake of his *Exerciſes*, wherein, me thinks, the Frenchman is very immoderate, eſpecially in thoſe which are ſomewhat violent; for ye may remember, ye haue ſeene them play Sets at Tenniſe in the heat of Summer, & height of the day, when others were ſcarce able to ſtirre out of dores. This immoderate play in this vnſeaſonable time, together with their intemperate drinking and feeding, is the onely cauſe, that heere ye ſee them generally itchy & ſcabbed, ſome of them in ſo foule a ſort, as they are vnfit for any honeſt table.

Palle-maille. Among all the exerciſes of France, I preferre none before the *Palle-maille*, both becauſe it is a Gentleman-like ſport, not violent, and yeelds good occaſion and opportunity of diſcourſe, as they walke from the one marke to the other. I maruell, among many more Apiſh and fooliſh toyes, which wee haue brought out of France, that wee haue not brought this ſport alſo into England.

Shooting in the peece. Concerning their ſhooting with the Croſſebowe, it is vſed, but not very commonly. Once in a yere, there is in each city a ſhooting with the Peece at a Popingay of wood, ſet vpon ſome high ſteeple (as alſo they doe

in

in many places of Germany.) He that hitteth it downe, is called the King for that yere, and is free from all taxe: beſides, he is allowed twenty crownes towards the making of a Collation for the reſt of the ſhooters. And if it happen, that three yeres together he carry the Prize, he is free from all taxe and impoſition whatſoeuer, all his life after.

This cuſtome, no queſtion, is very laudable, whoſe end tendeth much to a publike benefit: for by this practiſe and emulation, he groweth more ready and perfit in the vſe of his Peece, and ſo more able and fit to do his Countrey ſeruice. And I ſuppoſe, if in times paſt wee had had like Prizes for the long Bow (the ancient glory of our Engliſh ſeruice) we had not ſo ſoone quit the exerciſe thereof, nor degenerate ſo farre from ancient cuſtome. So doe I thinke, that in theſe dayes, wherein the Peece is onely prized, if wee had this faſhion of France and Germany in England, to reward him in euery place that ſhould beſt deſerue therein, that our Countreyman would grow more perfit & expert in the vſe thereof, at whoſe vnaptneſſe and aukwardneſſe in their firſt trayning, before they come to haue ſerued ſome time, I haue often maruayled.

He hath alſo his ſports of bowling, carding, dicing, and other vnlawful, and vnvſeful games, whereof I will omit to ſpeake, being too common both with them and vs.

As for the exerciſe of Tennis play, which I aboue remembred, it is more here vſed, then in all Chriſtendome beſides; whereof may witneſſe the infinite number of Tennis Courts throughout the land, inſomuch as yee cannot finde that little *Burgade*, or towne in France, that *Tennis Play.*

hath not one or moe of them. Here are, as you ſee, three-ſcore in *Orleans*, and I know not how many hundred there be in *Paris*: but of this I am ſure, that if there were in other places the like proportion, ye ſhould haue two Tennis Courts, for euery one Church through France. Me thinks it is alſo ſtrange, how apt they be here to play well, that ye would thinke they were borne with Rackets in their hands, euen the children themſelues manage them ſo well, and ſome of their women alſo, as we obſerued at *Blois*.

There is this one great abuſe in this exerciſe, that the Magiſtrates do ſuffer euery poore Citizen, and Artificer to play thereat, who ſpendeth that on the Holyday, at Tennis, which hee got the whole weeke, for the keeping of his poore family. A thing more hurtfull then our Ale-houſes in England, though the one and the other be bad ynough. And of this I dare aſſure you, that of this ſort of poore people, there be more Tennis Players in France, then Ale-drinkers, or Malt-wormes (as they call them) with vs.

You obſerue here, that their Balles are of cloth, which faſhion they haue held this ſeuen yeeres: before which time they were of lether, like ours. Much more might be ſaid of this exerciſe, but I will not reade you a Lecture in the Schoole of Tennis, whom I confeſſe the better Scholler.

Dancing. Neither ſhould I ſpeake of Dancing (for my dancing dayes are done) to you that are a Maſter in the Arte: (like *Phormio* the Rhetoritian, to *Hannibal*, of the warres) ſaue onely, that I preſume, yee will giue mee leaue, for methodes ſake, hauing vndertaken to ſpeake of the French exerciſes, not to omit that of Dauncing, where-

in

in they most delight, and is most generally vsed of all others. And I am perswaded, were it not for this, that they of the Reformed Religion, may not Dance, being an exercise against which their strait-laced Ministers much inueigh, that there had long since many of the Catholikes turned to their side: so much are they all in generall addicted hereunto. For yee shall not onely see the *Damoiselles* (Gentlewomen) and them of the better sort, but euery poore *Chapperonniere* (draggletayle) euen to the Coblers daughter, that can Dance with good measure, & Arte, all your *Quarantes*, *Leualties*, *Branses*, & other Dances whatsoeuer: not so much but the *Chambriere* (Chamber-maid) and poore Citizens wife, Dance vsually in the Citie streets, in a round, like our countrey lasses on their towne greene, about the May-pole, making musick of their own voices, without any instrumēt. And rather then faile, the old women themselues, both Gentle & base, who haue moe toes then teeth, and these that are left, leaping in their heads, like Iacks in Virginals, will beare their part. This argueth (I will not say a lightnes & immodesty in behauiour) but a stirring spirit, & liuelynesse in the French nature: whereof also the Musicke and songs they haue, is no small argument: For *Musicke* there is not almost a tune in all France, which is not *Ionicke*, or *Lydian*, of fiue or seuen tunes: a note forbidden youth by *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, because, sayth *Bodin*, it hath *Grande force et puissance d' amollir et lascher les* *Bod. l. 4. rep.* *cœurs des hommes*: Great force and power to soften and effeminate mens minds. The tune *Doricke*, which is more graue musicke, and was commaunded for the singing of Psalmes in the Primitiue Church,

their inconstant and stirring humor cannot brooke by any meanes.

Their Language It remaineth, I speake of their *Language*, of whome the *Italian* hath a prouerbe: *I Francese non parlano, come scriuono, non cantano, come notano, non pensano, come dicono*: The French neither pronounce as they write, nor sing as they pricke, nor thinke as they speake. In which first point, they differ from the *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Greeke*, who fully pronounce euery letter in the word: whereas the French, to make his speech more smooth, and *coulante* (as hee termes it) leaues out very many of his consonants, whereby it now is growne almost as sweete a tongue to the eare, as the *Italian* or *Greeke*: which two, by reason of the many vowels, are questionlesse the most delicate languages of the world.

Suetonius. It is written of *Augustus* the Emperour, that he obserued no Orthography, but wrote alwayes as he spake, which fashion begins now to be vsed by late writers: as ye may obserue in many of their late impressions: a thing vtterly condemned by them of best iudgement: *Ludo. Regius.* for saith one, *While they diuide the custome of writing from the nature of the word, ils ont tout renuersé l'escripture*: They haue vtterly ouerthrowne their Orthography.

Rob. Steph That which *Scaliger*, by the report of *Stephanus*, saith of the Greeke tongue, that it is, *redundans*, redundant: the same may wee say of the French, that it is *babillard*, full of tittle tattle, nothing so graue or ponderous, as the *Spanish*, nor so stately as the *Italian*. And hereof I thinke it commeth, that they say commonly, the French is a tongue *d'amours*, Amourous: the Spanish, *de la guerre*, Warlike: and the Italian, *de la Court*, Courtly.

Haill. li. 3. Much agreeing with this, is that of *Haillan*, where

speaking

ſpeaking of the battell of *Agincourt*, he ſaith, *Les Anglois nous ont ſouuent vaincuz en batailles, mais nous les auons vaincuz en nos traictez de paix: tant belles et ſubtiles ſont nos paroles, et pleines de mignardiſes*: The Engliſh haue often ouercome vs in battels, but wee haue ouercome them in our Treaties of peace, ſo faire and ſubtil are our words, and ſo full of entiſing delicacy. Whereby it ſhould ſeeme, it is a winning and perſwading language. But this is onely the opinion of themſelues, who are dotingly more in loue with their owne tongue, then with any other: which is the reaſon, that yee haue now almoſt all Hiſtories, Greeke, and Latine, tranſlated into French, yea, and the Artes alſo: inſomuch as now the Gentleman readeth theſe things in his owne language onely: a courſe in my opinion moſt preiudicial to all good learning.

There is one reaſon, me thinks, aboue all other, why the Frenchman affects to haue his tongue delicate and ſmooth, namely, for that rather then hee will loſe the nigardiſe thereof, contrary to all rules of Grammar, and all other tongues, he obſerueth no gender, where it may hinder the ſweetneſſe of the pronunciation (an Italian fault this, to take the Maſculine for the Feminine: the more beaſt he.)

It remaineth (this French tongue being no Mother tongue of it ſelf) that we obſerue of what other tongues it borroweth. *Caſar* ſaith, *Galli literis Græcis vtebantur*: The *Gaules* vſed Greeke Caracters: which Character, as we read in Hiſtories, hath beene changed by three diuers men, *Waſtaldus*, *Doracius*, *Hichius*: where the ſame Writer ſaith, that *Bede*, our countryman, inuented a particular Alphabet for the *Normans*. *Caſ. Com. l. 6.*

Howſoeuer the letter be changed, true it is, that they haue heere many words deriued from the Greeke, and agree very much alſo therewith in the phraſe and maner of ſpeaking. And therefore, as *Lu. Regius* ſayth well of our Engliſh, that it is compounded of the French & Almaine: ſo iudgeth he rightly of the French, that it is the daughter of the Latine and Greeke: for, as for that which it hath common with the Italian, both in word and phraſe (which is very much) the Italian, no queſtiõ, had it from hence, this French being the more ancient Language: and this nation hauing left in Italy, with the memory of many great victories, the vſe alſo of many of their words, as by all Hiſtorie appeareth, without which, at this day the Italian could not ſerue himſelf of his owne.

Lud. Regius.

True it is, that now of late, the French, eſpecially in the Court, haue gotten many of theirs in vſe, for a grace forſooth, not of neceſſity; wherein they much reſemble vs of England, who (they ſay) ſend diuers skinnes into other countries, which thoſe people vſe to their neceſſity, and make toyes and bables of the tayles, which they returne backe againe to vs, at as great a rate, as they bought the whole.

Concerning the difference betweene the language vſed at this day, and that of former times, ye are to obſerue, that all things in this world haue their beginnings, growings, perfection, corruption and alteration: As maners of liuing, formes of gouernment, abrogation of Lawes, change of Militarie ſeruice, new-fangleneſſe of habit, new faſhion of building, diuerſities of Armour, new inuentions of inſtruments, &c. And of all theſe, none more ſubiect to change, then Language,

nor

nor no language in the world more then this of the French.

For as *Polibius* sayeth of the *Romanes*, that when they should conclude a Peace, after the second *Punicke* warre with them of *Carthage*, that they could not reade the Articles of the first, so much was the Character: And as *Liuie* saith of the song which the *Sabin* Priestes vsed in their sacrifice, that they were so olde Latine, they could not be vnderstoode: And as wee may say of our *English*, that it very much differeth from that of *Chaucers* time: so saith *Lu. Regius* of the *French* tongue, *Lu. Regius.* that within these fiftie yeeres, it is almost growen a new language, and which still like the French apparell euery yeere altered.

If you aske me what Authours of the French I most approoue? I durst commend *Commines*, *Bodin*, *Plessie*, *Bertas*, for Historie, Policie, Diuinitie and Moralitie, with the best: and great pitie it is, that the Historie of the first is written in no better French. But if you demand the best Authours, for the language it selfe, I thinke, as *Tuscaine* hath a *Dante* and a *Petrarch*, *Greece* an *Isocrates* and a *Demosthenes*, *Rome* a *Cicero* and a *Cæsar*, we a *Sydney* and a *Chaucer*: so, France hath a *Bertas* and a *Romsart*, in this kinde most recommendable. For the place of best language, yee must euer obserue, that the farther from Sea, the better speakers, as *Athens* in *Gracia*, *Florence* in *Italy*, *Saxonie* in *Almany*, *Perses* in *Asia*, *Castile* in *Spaine*, and *Orleans* here, and many other places.

It now remaineth I speake of the French nature and humour: which by the change of his speech, apparrell, building, *Their nature and humour.*

building, by his credulity to any tale which is told, & by his impatience & haste in matter of deliberatiõ, where-of I shall not omit presently to speake, ye may iudge to be very idle, wauering and inconstant. Saith one, *Gallorum vt pronunciatio celerrima, ita quoque ingenia mobilia sunt*: As the Frenchmens pronunciation is very fast, so are their wits very wauering. And yee shall reade in *Cæsars* Cõmentaries very often, how hee taxeth them of this legerity and suddennesse: *His de rebus Cæsar certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus (quòd sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles, et nouis plerunq; rebus student) nihil his cõmittendum existimauit*: *Cæsar* being enformed of these matters, and fearing the vnstablenesse of the *Gaules* (as being sudden and wauering in their resolutions, and generally desirous of innouation) he thought fit not to trust them. And in another place, *Cum intelligeret Cæsar omnes fere Gallos nouis rebus studere, & ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque incitari, &c.* *Cæsar* vnderstanding, that almost all the *Gaules* were naturally hungry of change, and vnconstantly, and suddenly stirred to warre, &c. And againe, *Vt sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia*: As the resolution of the *Gaules* are sudden, and vnlooked for, &c.

1. *In Deliberations.*

Bezade fra. lingua.

Cæs. Com. lib. 4.

Com. li. 3. lib.

To conclude, if yee will rightly knowe the nature & humor of the ancient *Gaules*, ye must read the sixt of these Commentaries, and you shal obserue how strange it is, that though all other things in the world are subiect to change, yet the same *naturel* of lightnesse and inconstancy still remaines in the French. This is aptly shewed by *Haillan*, in his description of *Lewes* the eleuenth: *Auoit-il vne chose? soudain ill auoit affection à vne autre: estaut vehement, actif et impatient*: If hee had one thing, hee straight casts his affection to another, being violent,

Haill. li. 3.

violent, busy-headed and impatient.

To this accordeth another of their owne writers, *La condition de la France est telle, que s'il n'y a debat par dehors contre les grands, il faut qu'elle eust auec ses domesticques, et que son esprit ne peut estre en repos*: Such is the condition of France, that if shee haue no Warres abroad against powerfull neighbours, shee must haue broyles at home among her owne Subiects, and her working spirits can neuer remaine long quiet. And therefore *Tacitus* calles them, *Leuissima hominum genera*: The most fickle kinde of men; sudden to begin and more sudden to ende, apter to apprehend the action, then comprehend the cause, ready to lay hold, not able to hold fast: as by the making and reuoking of so many Edicts, against the *Reformed Religion* in so fewe yeeres, by the winning and losing of *Naples* and *Millaine* in so short time, and by many other their actions appeareth. 2. *In matter of warre.* *Com. cap.* 44. *Dern. troub.* *Guicciard lib.* 5.

For yee must obserue of the French, that he entreth a Countrie like thunder, and vanisheth out againe like smoke: hee resembleth the Waspe, who after the first stroke, loseth her sting, and can hurt no more.

He sheweth this his lightnesse and inconstancie, not onely in matters of seruice and warre, (whereof I haue before made mention) but also euen in other his actions and carriages: But in nothing more, then in his familiaritie, with whome a stranger cannot so soone bee off his horse, but he will be acquainted; nor so soone in his Chamber, but the other like an Ape will bee on his shoulder: and as suddenly and without cause yee shall lose him also. A childish humour, to bee wonne with as little as an Apple, and lost with lesse then a Nut: Quite contrarie to the nature of the *Italian*, of whome 3. *In intertayning of friendship*

yee ſhall in your trauell ſhortly obſerue, that he is of too ſullen and retired a faſhion, & a *loup-garou* (as the French man calles him) wherein I would haue you obſerue the vertue of the Engliſh man (for vertue is a mediocrity betweene two extremes) who is neyther ſo childiſhly and Apiſhly familiar, as the French; nor ſo ſcornefully and Cynically ſolitary as the other.

4. *In managing a quarrell.* So are we in matter of duell and priuate quarrell, in a meane, me thinks, betweene theſe two Nations: for we are neither ſo deuilliſhly mindfull of reuenge, as to tarry ſeuen or ten yeres for an opportunity vpon our enemy, as doeth the Italian: nor ſo inconſideratly haſty, as we muſt needs eyther fight to day, or be friends to morrow, as doth the French. Hereat *Rablais* ſcoffingly glanceth, where he telleth a tale of a *Gaſcoigne*, that hauing loſt his money, would needs in the heat of his choller fight with any man that bore head: and for want of an enemy fell aſleepe. By that time he was waking, comes mee another *Rhodomonte*, and vpon like cauſe of loſſe, would haue this fellow by the eares: but then the edge of this other was off. In concluſion (ſayth *Rablais*) they went both to the Tauerne, and there for want of money which they had loſt at Dice, drunke themſelues friends vpon their ſwords, without farther mediation, or troubling of others to take vp the quarrell.

Of the French carriage and manage of a quarrell, how childiſh and ridiculous it is, ye haue already ſeene two or three examples, wherein the parties haue neyther ſhewed iudgement, to know their owne right, nor valor to reuenge their wrong: whereas the Engliſh Gentleman, with mature deliberation diſputeth how farre his honour is ingaged, by the iniury offered,

and

and iudiciously determineth his maner of satisfaction, according to the quality of the offence: which done, hee presently embarqueth himselfe into the action, according to the prescription of the olde rule, *Postquam consulueris, maturè opus est facto*: Wise resolutions should be speedily executed. *Salust.*

I will heere remember you of one other instance more, wherein our Countreymen keepe the golden meane, betweene the two extremes of defect and excesse, and wherein these two Nations of Italy and France are culpable, and heere worthily to be taxed.

5. In Gouerning his wife.

We may say of the Italian, who maketh his house his wiues prison, as *Plutarch* sayth of the Persians, *Sont de nature estrangement & cruellement ialouzes des femmes, non seulement de celles qu'ils ont espouscés, mais aussi de leurs esclaues: & de leurs concubines, lesquelles ils gardent si estroittement que personne ne les void iamais dehors, ains demeurent tousiours renfermées en leurs maisons*: They are by nature strangely and cruelly iealous of their women, not onely of their wiues, but also of their slaues and Concubines, whom they gard so straitly, that they are neuer seene abroad, but remayne alwayes locked vp in their houses: Whereas the French liberty on the other side is too much: for here a man hath many occasions offred vpon any small entrance, to come acquainted; and vpon euery least acquaintance, to enter, where he may come to her house, accõpany her arme in arme in the streets, court her in all places, & at all seasons, without imputation. Wherein, me thinks, the French maried man doth as *Plutarch* reports of *Pericles*, *take away the walles & fences of his orchards & gardens, to th'end euery man might freely enter and gather fruit at his pleasure.* *Plut. Themist.* *Id. Pericl.*

No maruell then, the bridle being left in their owne hands, though ſometimes they be ſaddled, & their huſbands know not. You may obſerue therefore, that in this matter of wedlocke alſo, the Engliſh vſe is better then either the Italian or French.

6. Inaptneſſe to ſcoffe.

It is alſo naturall to the French, to be a great ſcoffer; for men of light and vnſteadie braines, haue commonly ſudden and ſharpe conceites. Hereto alſo their language well agreeth, as being currant and full of prouerbes; to which purpoſe I will remember you of two anſweres, not long ſince made by two Frenchmen, with one of which you are well acquainted, wherein alſo you may obſerue, how little eſteeme they hold of the *Romane* Religion in heart, though they make profeſsion thereof in ſhew.

The one of theſe being very ſicke, &, as was thought, in danger of death, his ghoſtly father comes to him with his *Corpus domini*, and tels him, that hearing of the extremitie wherein he was, he had brought him his *Sauiour*, to comfort him before his departure. The ſicke Gentleman withdrawing the Curtaine, and ſeeing there the fat lubberly Frier with the *Oaſt* in his hand, anſwereth, I know it is our *Sauiour*; he comes to me as he went to Ieruſalem, *C' eſt vn aſne qui le porte*: He is carried by an Aſſe.

The other Gentleman vpon like danger of ſickneſſe, hauing the Frier come to him to inſtruct him in the Faith, and after, to giue him the *Oaſt*, and then the extreme vnction (it was on a Friday) tolde him that hee muſt beleeue, that this *Corpus domini* which he brought, was the very reall fleſh, blood and bone of our Sauiour. Which after the ſicke man had freely confeſſed, the

Frier

Frier offered it him to receyue for his comfort. Nay, quoth the other, *Vous m'excuserè, car ie ne mange point de chair le vendredi*: You ſhall excuſe me, for I eate no fleſh on Fridayes. So that yee ſee the French will rather loſe his god, then his good ieſt.

The French humour alſo (ſayth one) *eſt incompatible auec patience & modeſtie*: cannot away with patience & modeſty. And therefore another ſayth of him, that he is as ſhamefaſt and modeſt, *comme vn Page de la Cour*: as a Page of the Court. Or as *Hiperbolus*, who, *Plutarch* ſaith, for his boldneſſe and ſaucy impudency, was the only Subiect in his time for all Satyricks and Commedians to worke vpon. *Bolde.* *La Nouë.* *Plut. Alcib.*

He is alſo ſuch a one, as *Theophraſtus* calles, *Duſcherès*, i. *immundus*, vncleanly, *Qui lepra & vtiligine laborans, vngueſq. habens prelongos inter homines verſatur, ac dicit gentilitios eſſe hos morbos, nam & patrem & auum fuiſſe eis obnoxios*: Who being leprous and ſcabby, and wearing long vnpared nayles, thruſts himſelfe into company, and ſayes, thoſe diſeaſes come to him by kind; for both his Father and his Grandfather were ſubiect vnto them. *Vncleanly Theoph. Character*

Hee is *Adoléſches*, i. *loquax*, Talkatiue, *Qui præ quauis Hirundine garrulus videri malit, quàm tacere, adeo ſe irrideri fert patientem*: Who had rather ſeeme more chattering then a Swallow, then hold his peace; ſo willing is hee to make himſelfe ridiculous. With which people (it is ſtrange) ye ſhall talke all day, & yet at night not remember whereof hee hath talked; ſuch multiplicity of words he hath, and ſo idle is the matter whereof he treateth. *Talkatiue.*

Hee is *Acairos*, i. *intempeſtiuus*, vnſeaſonably troubleſome, *Trouble-ſome.*

some, *qui ad amicum occupatum accedens, vult re incommunicata cum illo deliberare*: Who comming to his friend full of busineſſe, will giue him counſell, before he haue imparted the matter vnto him: And therfore they themſelues haue here a prouerbe, *Prendre quelqu' vn de Gallico*: To ſurpriſe one after the French fashion, when they take one of a ſuddaine, comming vnlooked for and vnſent for. Of which kind of people, *Theophraſtus* bids vs beware, where he ſaith: *Id genus homines demiſſis manibus granaiq; gradu fugias oportet, quiſquis ſobre carere voles: difficile eſt enim cum iis durare, qui neq; otij, neq; negotij tempora diſtinguere norunt*: If you will not bee troubled with a fit of Ague, you muſt run as faſt as your legs can carie you from ſuch kind of men: for it is very troubleſome liuing with fellowes, that cannot diſtinguiſh the ſeaſons of leyſure and affaires.

Id. ibid.

Vainely proude.

He is *Microphilotimos, i. Inepte circa res paruas ſuperbus*: Proud of trifles, *qui, ſi bouem ſacrificarit, ſolet anteriorem capitis eius partem magnis redimitam ſertis præforibus in ipſo introitu figere, vt intelligant qui ingrediuntur, bouem ab ipſo mactatum. Et ſi minam argenti ſoluere debeat, laborat vt ſoluat in Aſpero*: Who, if he haue ſacrificed an Oxe, vſeth to nayle vp the head and hornes at his gate, that all that come to him, may take notice that he hath kild an Oxe. And if he bee to pay fortie ſhillings, will be ſure to pay it in new-coynd money. This is hee that comes to the Tennis Court, throwes his Purſe full of coyne at the line, which giueth a ſound, as if there were no leſſe then thirtie or fourtie Crownes, when as ſometimes by miſchance, we haue diſcouered that it was nothing, but Paper, and a fewe Sols, and doubles of Braſſe, that made it ſo ſwell, in all, ſcarce eighteene pence ſterling.

He

He is Ἀλαζὼν. i. *Ostentator*, A Craker: *Qui ad eos accedens qui generosos equos vendunt, velle se emere simulat: et in nundinis ad tentoria eorum qui merces vanum exponunt, appropinquans, vestem sibi ostendi iubet duûm talenterum; demùm, (cum de precio conuenit) puerum, quòd se sine auro sequatur, grauiter obiurgat*: Who comming to such as haue great horses to sell, makes them beleeue hee will buy some: And at great Faires, drawing to their shops that sell apparell, cals to see a sute of an hundred pound: and when they are agreed of the price, fals out with his boy, for following him without his purse. Such a one was the gallant, of whome yee tolde me this other day, who in the middest of his discourse with you and other Gentlemen, suddenly turnes backe to his Lackie, Fetch me, saith he, my *Horologe*, Clocke, it lies in my lodging in such or such a place, neere such or such a Iewell. The *Lalero* returnes with a *non est inuentus*. My French gallant streight bethinkes himselfe that it is in his pocket (which hee knew well enough before) which presently he puls out, not so much to shew how the time passeth, (whereof he takes little care) as the curiousnesse of the worke, and the beautie of the case, whereof hee is not a little brag & enamoured. To speake thus particularly of all his seuerall humours and customes, would bee very prolixe, and not much necessarie: I wil only referre you to the fourth of *Tullies Rhetorickes*, where he speaketh of a bragging Rhodomonte, and to the first booke of *Horace Satyres*, speaking of an endles & needles prater, a fastidious & irkesome companion, where you shall see the French *naturel*, very liuely & admirably well described.

Boasting of things nothing worth.

Rhet. ad Herren. Satyr. l. 1. sa. 9.

I will onely speake of his impatience and precipitation in deliberations of Warre or Peace, and such other affayres

Hastie to conclude a Peace.

affayres of greateſt importance, and ſo end. To this effect *Bodin* ſaith of him, *Le naturel du François eſt ſi ſoudain & actif, qu'il quitte ce qu'on demande, annuyé des allées & venuës, & de longueurs propres à l'Eſpagnol*: The French is of ſo ſudden & buſy a diſpoſition, that he quickly yeelds to that a man demands, being ſoone tired with meſſages to & fro, and other delayes peculiar to the Spanyard. And in another place, *On deſire en l'Eſpagnol vne promptitude plus grande qu'il n'a: & au François les actions & paſſions plus moderées*: The Spanyard had need of a more ready diſpatch then he hath, & the French of more moderatiõ in his actions and paſſions. And whereas *Commines* ſaith of vs, that we be not *ſi ſubtiles en traictez et appointements comme les François*: ſo crafty in our treaties & agreemẽts, as the French. I thinke, ſauing the credit of ſo great an Author, he might better haue ſaid, *ſi eſtourdez & precipitez*: ſo headſtrong and precipitate. But where he ſaith, that he that will treat & determine matters with vs, muſt haue *vn peu de patience*, a little patiẽce: I yeeld vnto him, he hath good reaſon ſo to ſay; for his Countrymen, the French, can endure no delay; they muſt propound and cõclude all in one day. Whether of theſe be more praiſworthy *Plutarch* thus decideth: *Agatharcus* bragged of his ready and quick hand, & that he painted faſter then any other: which *Zeuxes* vnderſtãding, And I, quoth he, quite contrary, doe glory in this, that I am long in the doing: for ordinarily ſuch ſuddenneſſe and facility can not giue eyther a laſting firmneſſe, or a perfect beauty to the worke. Therefore ſaith one very well, *That ſhould bee long in deliberation, that muſt be reſolued but once*. To this agreeth the ſaying of *Pericles* to *Tolmides*, *We muſt tarry the time, which is the wiſeſt Counſeller we can haue*.

Bodin. l. 5.

Id. ibid.

Commines

Seneca.

Plut. Peri.

By

By this haste of theirs, they lost more, saith *Bodin*, by one Treatie at *Cambrey*, Anno 1559. to the *Spaniard*, then he had before got of the *French* in fortie yeeres by Warre. *Bodin. l. 5.*

And I see no reason, but this present Peace which the *French* hath made, is as aduãtageous to the *Spanish* State, as was that other, considering *it is as great a gaine to saue that we are like to lose, as to get that from another, which is not our owne.* For as it is truely said of the Spanish King, that hee hath not got vpon the French (money by victories, but victories by money:) And as *Plutarch* saith of *Philip* of *Macedon*, It was not *Philip*, but his golde and siluer, that tooke the townes of Greece: So may we say of his Treaties which hee hath had with France, whereunto hee hath of force beene driuen, euen as *Ennius* saith of *Fabius*: *Of this peace of Fra. and Sp. in 98.* *Plut. P. Aemil.* *Ennius.*

Our State, which witlesse force made wayne,
His wise delayes made waxe agayne.

For that this nation will rather yeeld the enemie what he demandeth, then bee troubled with long deliberation: a thing so contrarie to his nature, as nothing more.

You may obserue by the course of later Histories, that the *Spaniards* purpose was to deale with France, as *Alcibiades* said, the *Athenians* would deale by them of *Patræ*: They will eate you out by litle and little. To which purpose, in all these late ciuill Warres, King *Philip* played the Fire-brand, like the Priests of *Mars*, who, when two Armies were met, threw fire betweene them for a signall of battell, to set them together, and then retired themselues from the danger. He set the *Popes* on also to kindle this fire, who were but Barkers, and could not bite; their leaden Buls did but butt; they could not hurt; *Plut. Alcib.* *Bodin l. 4.*

able to curse then to kill: whose force is like that of a Whet-stone,

Plut. Peri. *Which though it sharpnesse lacke,*
Yet yron sharpe can make.

But when hee saw that little England (which is to Spaine, as *Alcibiades* said, the Ile Aegina was to Athens, *Vne paille en l'œil*, a mote in his eye) did trump in his way, and crosse his dessignes: and when as hee considered, that (as *Henry* the second of France, was the only cause of hindering his father *Charles* the fift, from vsurping vpon all *Germanie*, for which cause hee is called in their publike writings, *The Protector of the Empire, and deliuerer of the Princes:*) So her Maiestie, by defending the oppressed, and withstanding his Forces, deserueth the Title of *Protectrix of France, and deliuerer of the Estates*: Hee was then content to motion a Peace, and like a false friend, when he could doe no more hurt, to shake hands. Hereupon he did capitulate to render *Calais, Durlens, Ardres, Blanet*, and other places conquered or surprised vpon the French. A course, no question, wisely taken by the *Spaniard*, considering the termes wherein hee stoode; the want of money hee had, the credit hee had lost in all Bankes, the decrepit age wherein he was, and lastly, the sudden and incredible good fortunes of the French King and State, after so many yeres of miserie and losse. As for the French, what could he haue done, more dishonourable to himselfe, or profitable to his enemies, or preiudiciall to his late Allies? what lesse agreeing with the time, with his cause, with his oath, then to yeeld to this peace? But it hath bene an old tricke of the French, to obserue neither promise, nor oath, as *Clouis* the first saith, *Haill. lib.* 1. Wee may say of their purpose, as

Plutarch

Plutarch of *Lisanders*: *Children are deceiued with chance-bones, and men with oathes.* In this schoole of Fraude, Pope *Iulius* 2. was well read, who professed to his priuate friends, that all the Treaties which he made with the Princes of *France*, *Germanie*, and *Spaine*, was but to deceiue the one of them by the other. But let the French take heede there come not a day of payment for this, who are so hastie to abandon their friends, and make peace with their foes, onely vpon a foolish *naturel* of theirs, to desire change, and to enioy their present ease and pleasure, not foreseeing future daungers: like Schoole-boyes, who care not, so they may play to day, though they be britcht to morrow. When the Dukes of *Burgondie*, *Berrie*, and *Bretaine*, were combined against *Lewes* the 11. of France (as were lately England, France, and States against Spaine) the counsell of *Francis Zforce* to the King, was, for the present, to agree to all things they desired, and after (saith hee) in short time, ye shall haue occasion when they are disleagued, to deale with them one by one. And we may well say of this King present, as the Count *Charollois* feared of the Duke of *Berrie* the French Kings brother: That he was a likely man to be soone drawen to agree, & leaue vs in the mire: forgetting the olde sentence: It is the true signe of the approching ruine of a Countrey, when those that should holde together, diuide themselues, and abandon one another. And howsoeuer for the present, the French bragge to be gayners by the bargayn, I am sure, their Allies haue no part of the *Gasteau*, Cake. It is true therefore, that *Commines* saith, There was neuer so plentifull a mariage feast, but some went without their dinners. Wherein, me thinks, we haue great wrong, to beare a burden with them in their

Plut. Pelop.

Commines cap. 24.

Id.

Warres, and not to partake with them in the benefit of their Peace. *Maximilian* the first Emperour said, hee made Peace for no other end with *Lewis* the twelfth, but to be reuenged of seuenteene wrongs he had done him. The King present, by the policie of this age, and law *Talionis*, might say and doe the like to the *Spaniard*, not for seuenteene wrongs, but for seuenteene yeeres wrongs hee hath receiued: which when hee shall haue done, it is but quittance, and the other shall be but iustly serued: for saith *Bodin*, *He which is vniustly dealt with, hauing himselfe first played false, hath no cause to complaine.* And surely, the French must againe shortly bee doing, with him or some other, or at least one with another at home: he will soone be as wearie of Peace, as he is now of warre. *La nation Françoise est insolent en paix, impatiente de demurer long temps en la maison*: The French nation is insolent in Peace, & impatient of tarrying long at home.

Bod. lib. 4.

La Noue

¶ Thus haue you a superficiall survey of this Country and People of *France*, of whom we may conclude with *La Noue*. *Plus de la moitié de la Noblesse est perie, le peuple diminue, les finances espuisees les debts accreuës, la discipline renuersee, la pieté languissant, les moeurs desbordées, la iustice corrumpuë, les hommes diuisez*: More then halfe the Nobilesse is perished, the people diminished, the Treasure exhausted, the debts increased, good Order ouerthrowen, Religion languished, maners debaucked, Iustice corrupted, and the men diuided.

Id.

I make no doubt, but to these slender obseruations, you wil after adde better of your own Collection, vsing this onely as the patterne of a method, how to discourse of the Cosmography, Policie and Oeconomy of such other Countries wherein you shall trauaile.

FINIS.

THE SVRVEY OF THE great Dukes State of *Tuscany*.

Sir Robert Gallington

Vscany, anciently called *Hetruria*, lieth vnder the Regiment of *Sol*, in the fift Climate, betweene the Degrees fortie one, and fortie foure: a Country almost equally distant from the Equinoctiall and North-pole, and therefore by consequent of an ayre temperate, were it not that the Mountaines cause some little excesse of both the passible qualities, heate and colde. Of this in winter, by reason they bee mantled with showe, whereby the winde vireth with a more piercing sharpnesse: of that in sommer, by the repercussiue force of the Sun-beames from the sides of those Hilles, at the foot whereof are most of their Cities seated. Not hauing any valleyes so large, but that the situation of the Towne therein makes it communicate in the passion of both these extreames. For as writers well affirme, that the Hilles *Appennines* are one fourth part of *Italy*: so is it also determined that they and their Spurres, are three fourth parts of *Tuscany*. The Clime.

It is in length, if you measure along the Sea-coast, two thousand fiue hundred furlonges, which make three hundred and twelue myles: but if you measure by the *Diameter*, according to *Ptolomey*, assigning it three Degrees, and forty seauen miles to a Degree, then it is some hundred fortie and odde miles: if according as the ordinarie Roade lies, which is neither somuch about as by the coast, nor so direct as by the *Diameter*, it is one hundred and seauenty miles. And thus doth *Leander Alberti* the latest and exactest Surueyour of *Italie* reconcile the authorities of *Strabo*, *Plyny* and *Ptolomey*. But allowing sixtie miles to a *Degree*, it is in length one hundred and ninetie miles, which is now the receaued opinion. The length.

It is in breadth, one hundred where least, and in Circuite six hundred The breadth.